

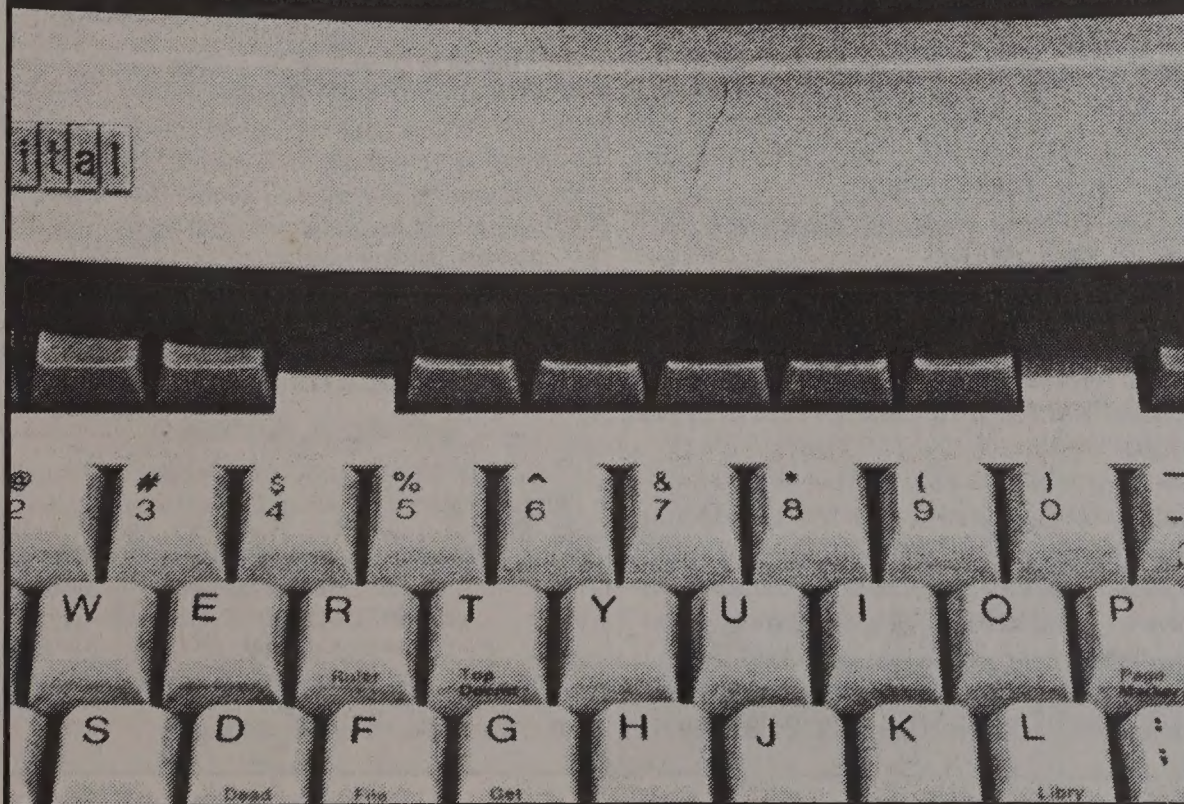
•NUCLEAR• TIMES

JULY 1984 • \$2.00

High-Tech Dissent

Last year it looked like Al Beebe had a bright future ahead of him at Hughes Aircraft in El Segundo, California. He was designing software for so-called "smart" missiles, and the year before he was part of a team that won the company a half-billion dollar contract for medium-range air-to-air missiles. That was when the trouble started...

(continued on page 18) ■



Helen Caldicott's 'Missile Envy'

■ *Page 3*

House Vote Downs ASATs

■ *Page 7*

CAMPAIGN REPORT '84

- ★ *Registration Drives*
- ★ *Ballot Initiatives*
- ★ *Nailing Down A
'Peace Plank'*
- ★ *Convention Preview*

■ *Page 10*



**Writers and Readers
Documentary Comic Books**
introduces new titles
to the series:

Peace for Beginners

Ian Kellas

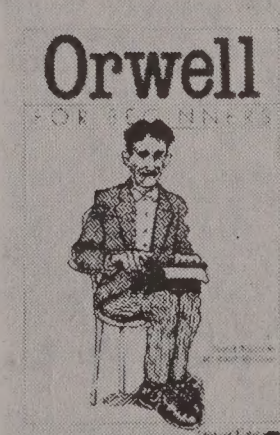
\$4.95



Orwell for Beginners

David Smith
Michael Mosher

\$4.95



Now at your local bookstores.

What the papers say:

"accessible and entertaining"

Newsweek

"comics with conscience"

Washington Post

"unreservedly recommended"

N.Y. Times Book Review

For a free catalog and
an **Orwell for Beginners** poster

Write to:

Writers and Readers

% W.W. Norton & Co.

500 Fifth Avenue

New York, New York 10110

Letters

Opposite Polls

Your article "Opinion Polls Reveal Contradictions" (March '84) was very necessary. Too many people in the nuclear weapons freeze movement have focused on the one-sided fact that about 70 percent of those polled favor a bilateral freeze, while this similar percentage is for a maximum weapons arsenal. Most people still do not know about the radiation or fire-blast capability of today's megatonnage. Nuclear Winter has yet to be brought to the general public's attention. Freeze Voter '84 is critically necessary to mobilize all levels of freeze supporters for electoral activity.

—Mollie Siegel
Manhattan Beach, Cal.

A Living Wage

I appreciate your article on various moratoria proposals ("A Quick End to the Arms Race?" June '84). Challenging the other side with an arms control initiative can take many forms, but it is always the same in one essential respect: It always puts action before words, based on the conviction that negotiation must never precede, but must follow acts of peace.

People are growing increasingly dissatisfied with the old approach of haggling for years (too often with no good results), and are beginning to see that U.S.-Soviet relations will not improve unless one side assumes leadership for peace by taking the first step. As a consequence, the Freeze Campaign has decided to go with a "quick freeze." And already in Congress there is a resolution, entitled the Nuclear Test Ban Challenge (House Joint Resolution 441). Introduced by Representatives Barbara Boxer and Nicholas Mavroules, it would have the president suspend U.S. underground testing, challenge the Soviet Union to do likewise, and make it known that we will resume our testing only if the Soviets continue or resume theirs.

It is time to wage peace rather than merely talk about it.

—David Martinez
San Francisco, Cal.

Send letters to the Editor to NUCLEAR TIMES, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001

Going to San Francisco for the Democratic Convention? Stop by the NUCLEAR TIMES booth at the Vision of America at Peace exhibition, Showplace Square, Eighth Street and Brannan. And if you'd like to help us out at the convention, please call Kippie Norris (212) 563-5940.

•NUCLEAR•
TIMES

CONTENTS

EARLY WARNINGS	3
BLUEPRINTS	6
NATIONAL	7
An up-and-down month for the movement in Congress. Plus, a look at Mother's Day actions and a survey of this summer's peace camps.	
NOTES FROM ABROAD	9
CAMPAIGN REPORT '84	10
FORUM	16
A reply to Randy Kehler: The second in a continuing discussion of new directions for the antinuclear movement. By Richard Healey	
IDEAS THAT WORK	17
COVER	18
People in computer and other high-technology fields that spur the arms race are beginning to question their involvement in weapons work.	
CALENDAR	22
RESOURCES	23

Editor Greg Mitchell

Managing Editor Corinna Gardner

Senior Editor David Corn

Asst. Editor Renata Rizzo

Resources Editor Ann Marie Cunningham

Contributing Editors Suzanne Gordon,

Fred Kaplan, Howard Kohn,

Maria Margaronis

Art Director Cindy Milstein

Publisher Cynthia Kling-Jones

Circulation Kippie Norris

Advertising Sales Cynthia Lapp

Interns Jesse Mentken, Alex Miller,

Leslie Reckler

Board of Directors Jack Berkowitz,

Hodding Carter, Robert Friedman,

Wade Greene, Colin Greer,

Adam Hochschild, Jonathan Z. Larsen,

Thomas B. Morgan, Thomas Powers,

Anne Mollegen Smith,

Susan Margolis Winter, Anne B. Zill

Cover Photo (main) Steven Borns

Computer courtesy of Alpha Business

Machine Corp.

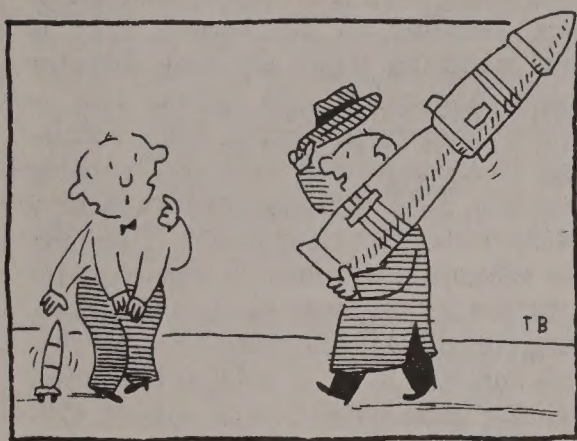
Cover Illustration Tom Bloom

VOLUME II, NUMBER 8

NUCLEAR TIMES (ISSN 0734-5836) is published 10 times a year by Nuclear Times, Inc. Room 512, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001. (212) 563-5940. Single copy, \$2; yearly subscriptions, \$15; Mexico and Canada, add \$7 per year postage; all other foreign, add \$17 airmail/\$7 surface. Bulk rates apply, please inquire. Copyright © 1984 by Nuclear Times, Inc. All correspondence should be sent to Room 512, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001. Allow six weeks for address change.

Early Warnings

IS A MISSILE JUST A MISSILE?: Are hormones responsible for the arms race? Dr. Helen Caldicott believes they are, to a degree. In her new book, *Missile Envy: The Arms Race and Nuclear War* (published by William Morrow), Caldicott suggests that a typical man is a "man who never shows any emotion or even admits to having emotions, who is never fallible and never admits to making a mistake, who hides behind his defense mechanisms and builds missiles." Such men hold the reins of power in Washington, D.C., and she diagnoses them as suffering from "missile envy." Caldicott ob-



serves that "hideous weapons of killing and mass genocide may be a symptom of several male emotions: inadequate sexuality and a need to continually prove their virility plus a primitive fascination with killing."

Caldicott tells of being on a Chicago television program with a retired brigadier general. After the show, he told her, "You should go to Russia." Caldicott writes: "I thought for several seconds and decided to let him see the true fear in my soul, and I said to him, 'I fucking want my kids to grow up.' . . . He went wild and almost physically attacked me. The producer came running out to separate us, and there was nearly a brawl on the floor of the TV studio." What did she learn from this? It made her realize that "a lot of these military characters have an extraordinary amount of anger." And she decided then that it is necessary to "try to uncover these emotions, so we could get to the true etiology of war, and to stop being polite and skating around on the surface of the issue."

In *Missile Envy*, comprised mostly of articulate ruminations on nuclear strategy, the military-industrial complex, U.S.-Soviet relations, and other aspects of the arms race, Caldicott also describes her 1982 meeting with President Reagan. During the 75-minute tête-a-

tête, Reagan told Caldicott that the Soviets were evil, Godless communists. When she asked if he had ever met a Soviet, he replied, "No, but we hear from their émigrés." He also attacked the credibility of the former military officials who run the Center for Defense Information and said that Paul Warnke stood for unilateral disarmament. Reagan told Caldicott she was being manipulated by the KGB.

CHIPS ARE DOWN: Is the MX missile really a bargaining chip? That was one of the arguments that MX supporters used to pass the Aspin amendment. But on the day the House accepted Representative Les Aspin's compromise, May 16, Ambassador Edward Rowney, chief U.S. negotiator for the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms talks, unravelled this logic. Appearing on the *MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour*, Rowney said flatly about the MX: "It's not a bargaining chip." He explained, "It shouldn't be called a bargaining chip. We need the MX because if we're going to continue to have a land-based leg of the triad . . . the land leg needs to be modernized." Rowney, who speaks for the administration, boldly noted that the MX is not subject to negotiation. "We have no intention," he said, "if we build these MXs, to give them up, you see." When asked if the administration was "committed to giving them up if it was negotiated away," Rowney re-

plied, "No, no. No, we're not—no one is talking about negotiating away the MX." Except for MX supporters on the Hill that day.

Then Rowney was asked whether the "whole principle of American policy" is to "negotiate away everything." He answered, "Oh, yes, yes, down the line. In the year 2006, a little after my time."

POLICING THE MOVEMENT: For several years the Knolls Action Project, based in Albany, New York, has protested at Department of Energy-owned Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory, which conducts research and development for the Trident submarine program. In 1982 the plant's operator, General Electric, refused to let the group continue to leaflet at the Knolls entrance. The Knolls Action Project then initiated a lawsuit, in the course of which it discovered what it calls "a shocking detailed record of five years of surveillance and invasion of privacy by GE officials and U.S. security agents."

According to court papers filed by GE, lab police sent weekly reports to DOE's security division in Washington, D.C., detailing the activities of the protesters. The lab security officers, according to the documents, also recorded the license plate numbers of the protesters' cars. The numbers were run through police computers and information about the vehicle owners—their names, addresses, social security numbers, occupations—were included in the reports.

"That sort of surveillance," says New York Civil Liberties Union lawyer Steven Shapiro, "really discourages people from exercising their free speech rights. In many ways, their rights have been violated. It deters people from ex-

Blips

Stopped by one court injunction, the U.S. Navy is now preparing a new environmental impact statement that might allow its **Project ELF** submarine communications system to go ahead again in Michigan this fall The Reagan administration is proceeding with plans to launch the seventh **Trident** submarine at the end of next year, which would put the United States above limits allowed in the SALT treaties and mark an end to mutual U.S. and Soviet compliance with those accords Soviet officials have given **The Love Boat** permission to dock at Leningrad next television season, but have refused to announce a date so that the ship and guest stars (such as Loretta Swit and Colleen Dewhurst) "won't be mobbed by locals," according to *TV Guide* **SANE** and the **Nuclear Control Institute**, along with several environmental groups, are sending a letter to Chinese leaders urging them not to accept the U.S. offer of nuclear technology Among the pop groups that will appear at this year's Glastonbury Festival for Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) are the **Thompson Twins**, **Black Uhuru** and **the Smiths** The decision by a judge in Salt Lake City to award several million dollars in damages to 10 "**downwinders**" (or their survivors), which marks the first time a federal court has held the government liable for cancers that occurred after exposure to radiation from atomic tests, is expected to increase pressure on Congress to compensate many of the so-called "atomic vets." Military personnel are barred from suing the government for injuries **Senator John Tower's** annual appeal to his colleagues to show their true interest in cutting the Pentagon budget by proposing elimination of programs in their own states or districts is proving uneventful as usual. Only two volunteers this year: one from the Massachusetts congressional delegation (urging that the MX be cancelled), and one from Senator William Proxmire (he wants to axe Project ELF).

The latest thinking on national defense in the nuclear age

NUCLEAR ARMS

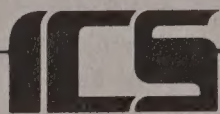
ETHICS STRATEGY POLITICS

Edited by
R. James Woolsey

from R. James Woolsey,
Charles Krauthammer, Brent Scowcroft,
Sam Nunn, Walter B. Slocombe,
Amory and Hunter Lovins,
Richard Burt and others.

\$8.95 paper (ISBN 0-917616-55-3)
\$22.95 cloth (ISBN 0-917616-56-1)
289 pages

At better bookstores, or direct from:



ICS PRESS
Institute for Contemporary Studies
785 Market, Dept. 723
San Francisco, CA 94103

exercising their First Amendment rights and makes it less likely that people will become involved." Frank Zollo of the Knolls Action Project maintains that some people have told him they would like to participate in protests at Knolls, but they are put off by the surveillance and afraid the government would open a file on them.

One security report reads, "At approx. 0715 hrs., Friday, June 18, 1982, personnell (sic) were seen handing out leaflets. . . . Personnell (sic) were very courteous and friendly and appeared to pose no threat to the site." Ironically, a few weeks later, GE told the activists they could no longer leaflet by the plant's entrance because the management was concerned about safety.

TEACHERS RETURN TO CLASSROOM: In two years Educators for Social Responsibility has grown from 500 to 5500 members. Building on this record, ESR is now launching what associate director Susan Alexander calls "phase two"—teacher training programs. While continuing to focus on curricula and teaching students, ESR will also stress teaching *teachers* about nuclear issues. This nuclear education will include classroom instruction for teachers on the arms race, arms control and international relations. This summer, ESR is holding two-week training sessions at North Adams College in Salem, Massachusetts, and Sonoma State University in Rohnert Park, California. It hopes to create training teams throughout the country and is compiling lists of local resources for teachers. And a training videotape is being made. "It's critical to teach teachers how to present technical material, like on nuclear winter, so that it's accurate," says Alexander, "but to do it in ways that don't increase the students' despair."

PANDEMIC: The Russians are coming. Maybe not to Los Angeles for the summer Olympics, but (barring an international incident) to Atlanta, Georgia, on October 7. In a project sponsored by Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament (PAND) International, artists from around the world—including Marcel Marceau, Marilyn Horne, and Dizzy Gillespie—will appear with their Russian peers in a three-hour performance featuring music, dance and dramatic readings in Leningrad on September 21. And about two weeks later, on October 7, Soviet artists who are members of PAND U.S.S.R. will travel to the United States for a reciprocal event at the 4700-seat Atlanta Civic Center, donated by the city for the evening.

Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young has endorsed the October 7 event and will pro-

claim the first seven days in October a week of concern for world peace and nuclear disarmament. A new Atlanta peace coalition has formed around the event, says Chip Simone, the coordinator for the PAND concert. To kick off the week's programs, doctors, lawyers and psychologists are planning a major symposium on nuclear issues.

IRONING OUT THE DETAILS: Coming on line this summer is the Iron Triangle Data Base Project, which maintains a computerized file of the military industrial complex by congressional district. Set up by the Defense Budget Project in Washington, D.C., so it can be used by local activists (for a small fee), the data base will identify military contractors in each district, what contracts they hold and how much money they receive. It will also detail how many people in the district are employed by military contractors and list the local military installations. The Iron Triangle Project plans to include the campaign contributions made by the political action committees of the military contractors, as well as the votes cast by members of Congress on key defense-related issues.

PANTEX PILGRIMS: In early August, antinuclear activists who form the regional Red River Peace Network, located in 13 cities in Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Texas, will embark on a pilgrimage to the Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas, the final assembly point for all U.S. nuclear warheads. Most "pilgrims" will drive, some will ride bicycles, but all will concentrate on grass-roots educational outreach in more than 100 cities and towns along the 13 routes to Pantex. Some plan to push for voter registration along the way.

When the 13 groups converge on Amarillo on August 4, a peace camp will be established outside the camp's main gate. And plans call for an around-the-clock walking vigil along the 16-mile perimeter of the plant, to be supplemented by peace workshops and continual amplified readings from accounts of Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors. The event will culminate on August 6—the 39th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima—with an ecumenical service led by Amarillo's Bishop Leroy Matthiesen, followed by a legal rally at the plant's gates. Civil disobedience was ruled out by the Network after Bishop Matthiesen said that he would not endorse it.

To bolster community relations, a bloodmobile will be stationed at the peace camp to collect blood for Amarillo hospitals. "There's been a lot of criticism that peace groups come to Amarillo [where Pantex is a major employer] and take and never give anything to the com-

VOLGA RIVER PEACE CRUISES

This most unusual holiday experience combines visits to Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, with a relaxing cruise down the Volga River, where you'll participate in forums and discussions of the vital questions of our time: an end to the arms race, converting war industries to a peacetime economy, Euromissile deployment and the demand for a nuclear freeze. An unforgettable vacation! Send for free brochure.

Peace Cruise No. 1: June 24-July 17, 1984 \$2685-\$3140, depending on cabin selection. *SPONSORS: Promoting Enduring Peace, The Churchman, World Fellowship, Women's International League for Peace & Freedom, National Council American-Soviet Friendship and the World's Citizen's Registry (U.S. Section).*

Peace Cruise No. 2: July 24-August 16, 1984 \$2685-\$3140, depending on cabin selection. *SPONSORS: Students/Teachers Organization to Prevent Nuclear War, Women Strike for Peace, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Promoting Enduring Peace.*

ANNIVERSARY TOURS 250 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10107
In New York State (212) 245-7501 • Out-of-State (800) 223-1336

"Hers is the voice of reason in a time of insanity."*

"Helen Caldicott has become perhaps the most eloquent of those speaking out against the madness of the nuclear arms race. Here she marshals the arguments that forcefully underline the dangerous futility of government policies on both sides of the Iron Curtain."
—WALTER CRONKITE

"It is easy to understand how [Dr. Caldicott] has captured the hearts and minds of people around the world.... She speaks from a solid basis of medical experience. She speaks for the victims in a language that all of us should be able to understand."
—FREEMAN DYSON,
The New Yorker, February 6, 1984

MISSILE ENVY

The Arms Race & Nuclear War

Dr. HELEN CALDICOTT

Author of NUCLEAR MADNESS

Illustrated • \$15.95

William Morrow *Candice Bergen
105 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016



Ron Schreff/Time

munity," says Hib Sabin, a pilgrimage coordinator.

WRITE MAKES RIGHT: Over a year ago, Dennis Paulson of Santa Barbara, California, left his job as a drilling engineer in the oil industry and began compiling a list of 4000 of the most influential people in the world. He then wrote to each, asking a series of questions including: How do you view the nuclear threat? Could there be a death-wish abroad in the land?

More than 100 scientists, entertainers, journalists, government officials and religious leaders responded directly, including Viktor Afanasyev, editor in chief of *Pravda*, journalist William F. Buckley Jr., Indira Gandhi, actor Dudley Moore, Pope John Paul II, Edward Teller, Daniel Berrigan, and singer Christopher Cross. Paulson is currently trying to find a publisher for a collection of these letters (for which Carl Sagan has written an introduction).



Browne and Baez: Is there a deathwish?

Most of the respondents deny that a societal death-wish exists, but singer Jackson Browne writes that "any willingness to see our young men die in a war is a willingness to see ourselves and our whole society die with them." Others have concrete suggestions on what to do now. Gregory Peck suggests that "we Americans have nothing to lose by testing unilateral cutbacks in the nuclear buildup," and Hugh Downs calls for the United States to take the lead "in backing away from the brink." Arthur C. Clarke, author of *2001: A Space Odyssey*, says that global communications could be improved by instituting France's plan for an International Satellite Monitoring Agency, while actor Martin Sheen feels we need leaders "who are willing to make a difference by going to jail, not Congress." And Joan Baez, after suggesting that the thing-to-do is to see the movie *Gandhi*, listen to the speeches of Martin Luther King Jr. and then join a local peace group, calls on people to "reflect for at least a moment or two on the comedy amidst the tragedy, because a sense of humor is one essential ingredient in times like these!"

Items for this section were contributed by David Corn, Alex Miller, Sal Paolantonio and Renata Rizzo.

Blue-Prints

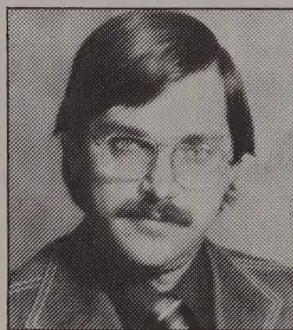
Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms



A mood of resignation prevailed in a session called "Nuclear Arms Control: Assessing the Current Proposals and Negotiations" at the **American Association for the Advancement of Science's** annual meeting in late May. When one member of the audience at New York's Hilton Hotel asked if the panelists could offer any new, "creative" proposals for revitalizing U.S.-Soviet arms talks, chief U.S. negotiator for the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Reduction Talks, **Paul Nitze**, frankly responded that no, he could not; he had considered so many proposals that he was "exhausted."

In contrast, a session that focused on the pending modernization of conventional forces in Europe was extremely animated. The subject: an array of weapons made possible by the microelectronic revolution, from cruise missiles armed with conventional warheads to airborne radar systems that can track targets as small as a tank (and simultaneously guide air and land attacks on those targets). NATO's Air-Land Battle and Deep-Strike doctrines for conventional warfare in Europe demand such modern technologies, including extremely accurate weapons that can penetrate considerable distances (up to 300 kilometers) behind the front lines. The Department of Defense is now considering the "potentialities" of these weapons, and discussions with NATO allies about new conventional arms will take place to consider policy decisions, said **Jonathan Dean**, former chief negotiator for the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks and a resident associate with the Carnegie Endowment for Peace. Dean urged multilateral negotiations over the weapons.

Another speaker at this session, **Michael Klare**, director of the Conventional Arms and Intervention Project of the Institute for Policy Studies, predicted that Air-Land Battle and Deep-Strike doctrines would emerge as one of the major controversies in Europe and in this country. He challenged the belief popular in both military and arms control circles (and



Michael Klare

championed by Supreme Allied Commander General Bernard Rogers) that modernized conventional forces in Europe would raise the

nuclear "threshold" by decreasing our reliance on nuclear weapons. Klare stressed the need for a negotiated ban on delivery systems, such as the cruise missile, that can carry both conventional and nuclear warheads. Such dual-capable weapons, in his view, make it difficult to verify whether an attack is conventional or nuclear, and tempt a nuclear retaliation in either case.

Klare also warned that the transfer of these sophisticated arms to allies in conflicts in other regions would lead to a rapid escalation in fighting and potentially provoke a direct U.S.-Soviet confrontation. He advocated deploying only those new conventional weapons that would "enhance restraint," such as anti-tank and anti-aircraft guidance missiles that serve an exclusively defensive purpose. (The May issue of the *Federation of American Scientists' FAS Public Interest Report* provides an excellent reader on new conventional technologies and their impact on nuclear policies.)

At the same session, **Kosta Tsipis**, director of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Program in Science and Technology for International Security, opposed the trend of increasing accuracy in conventional weapons on a general principle: Making weapons more accurate undermines their role as a deterrent, "because any uncertainty will act as a deterrent." (In this case "deterrence" means a restraint on offensive use of a weapon as well as a discouragement to attack.) Tsipis delivered a technical assessment of current levels of uncertainty in strategic calculations (which he published in a paper in *Scientific American* last November). After considering a range of possible sources of error—from human to technical to environmental—Tsipis estimated a roughly 55 percent level of reliability in strategic planning. But rapid technical progress, he cautioned, is lowering the level of protective uncertainty. He called for an intensive public debate of the issue, however "inefficient and messy" that might be.

At the annual meeting of the **National Academy of Sciences** in May, NAS president Frank Press called for "deep cuts in nuclear weapons." Press also indicated that relations between NAS, an honorary society of scientists and engineers chartered by Congress to advise the federal government, and its Soviet counterpart, the **Soviet Academy of Sciences**, might be about to take a turn for the better (formal relations were broken off in 1980). In early June a delegation from NAS, including Press, went to the Soviet Union to help improve relations with their Soviet colleagues.

—Corinna Gardner

SLOWS MX

House Grounds ASATs

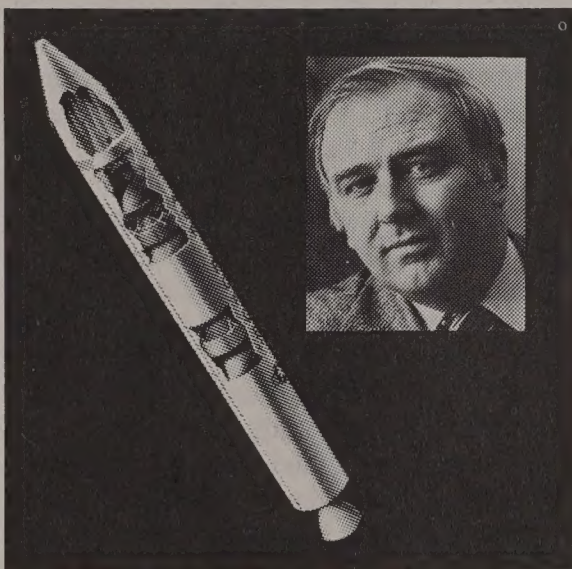
At the start of this year's debate in Congress on the MX missile, Representative W.C. Daniel, a Democrat from Virginia, stood up on the floor of the House and exclaimed that if the House cancelled the MX, "we should tear up and throw away the Constitution and just let the United States become a satellite of the Soviet Union." Such rhetorical flourishes proliferated throughout the House debate in May on the Department of Defense's authorization bill for fiscal year 1985.

It was a debate that held some significant wins for arms control lobbyists—cancellation of the administration's \$95 million request for chemical weapons and moratoria on antisatellite (ASAT) testing and nuclear sea-launched cruise missiles—and several defeats. The House, to no one's surprise, strongly endorsed the Pershing 2 and Trident II missiles, and the B-1 bomber. And the MX again proved to be the most hotly contested item in the Pentagon's budget, with Representative Les Aspin coming to the beleaguered missile's rescue by offering yet another compromise that the House bought in the first go-around on May 16. The compromise, which averted a straight up-and-down vote that the administration was likely to lose, cut the number of missiles from 30 to 15 and stipulated that funds for these missiles could not be released until April 1, and then only if the Soviets have not returned to the arms talks.

Two weeks later, on May 31, MX opponents rebounded, picking up a close win, when the House, by a 198-197 vote, amended the Aspin measure, reserving to Congress—rather than the president—the decision to go ahead with the missile. Under this amendment, offered by Representative Charles Bennett, Congress must pass a joint resolution in order for MX funds to be released next April. "It's an enormous win, but not a final victory," says one arms control lobbyist. "It's a vote against the MX, with the House saying that it wants another vote before we go ahead with the MX." As a measure of the vote's importance, the administration, while the debate was proceeding, reportedly flew in some pro-MX members on Air Force jets. Unlike previous MX votes, the House leadership put its muscle behind the Bennett amendment, as Speaker

Thomas O'Neill worked the floor and Majority Leader Jim Wright made an impassioned speech supporting the measure.

Shortly before this MX vote, the House also moved to "fence," or hold back, for a year funding for the assembly and deployment of the Tomahawk nuclear sea-launched cruise missile (SLCM), as long as the Soviets do not deploy their long-range SLCM (which they are scheduled to do this fall). On the floor, this effort was led by the pro-MX "Gang of Three"—Representatives Aspin, Albert Gore Jr., and Norman Dicks. (As NUCLEAR TIMES went to press, the Senate was about to start consideration of its military authorization bill.)



Rep. Aspin struck again, but MX wobbled

Here are some other highlights of the House action:

ASAT: Last year, the House agreed to a Senate measure that imposed a ban on the testing of an ASAT against a target in space until the president submitted a report on ASAT negotiations and the necessity of proceeding with the antisatellite program. This year, by a voice vote, the House passed a stronger measure that imposes a moratorium on such ASAT testing, contingent on Soviet reciprocity. (This testing is necessary before the ASAT can be considered operational. The United States has scheduled the first test of its new ASAT against a target in space for November.) This measure "puts the ASAT testing program on hold, unless the Soviets break their own declared moratorium and resume testing," says Representative George Brown, a Democrat who cosponsored the amend-

ment with Representative Lawrence Coughlin, a Republican.

The closest that the Brown-Coughlin measure came to a recorded vote in the House was a vote on a weakening amendment, which failed 228-186.

The House debate revealed the strong link between ASATs and antiballistic missile (or "Star Wars") programs. Representative Marilyn Lloyd, a Democrat, argued that "technological developments for ballistic missile defense would be greatly hindered by restraints on ASATs." (There was no House action on the Star Wars program, but the administration's request was cut from \$1.7 billion to \$1.25 billion by the House Armed Services Committee.)

PERSHING 2: A "fencing" amendment offered by Representative Mike Lowry was swamped 294 to 122. Similar to Aspin's MX measure, this amendment would have frozen funds for 70 new Pershing 2 missiles until April 1, 1985.

One hundred and eight Pershing 2s are slated for deployment (in West Germany). But Congress has already approved production funds for 182 Pershing 2 missiles; the FY 1985 and FY 1986 requests raise the total to 380. The ultimate number requested by the Pentagon is classified. "This is the only weapon system where that is the case," says Pattye Comfort, director of the Cruise and Pershing Project. "These numbers are way above the usual number of spares. The real question is what are the rest of these missiles for?"

TRIDENT II: Representative Theodore Weiss and his allies—Representatives Thomas Downey, Les AuCoin, Ronald Dellums, and Lowry—tried to slow down the Trident II missile, scheduled to be deployed in 1989, with a measure deleting the initial procurement funds of \$152 million, but only won 93 votes (as opposed to 319 votes on the other side). And a Weiss measure to cut \$2 billion for Trident II research and development failed on a voice vote. But Trident II opponents were not too disheartened. "We're just starting on a five-year campaign," says one Weiss aide. The anti-Trident forces picked up over 30 votes (while losing about 15) since the last vote on the missile two years ago.

During the debate, one obstacle Trident II opponents faced was confusion, as some supporters failed to realize that the Trident II missile and the Trident submarine are not the same. Another obstacle: Some members view the Trident II as a political safety net. As the Weiss aide notes, "Many members justify their vote against the MX with their vote for the Trident II." —David Corn

PEACE ACTIONS CROSS COUNTRY

Mother's Day Goes Political

It's possible that Mother's Day doesn't belong to Hallmark after all. This year, on May 13, some peace activists paid homage to Julia Ward Howe, whose efforts to organize women against the Franco-Prussian War in the 1870s eventually led to international women's peace councils in 1915 and in 1919—and the idea that women would set aside one day a year to protest war. The revival of this idea seems to be catching on.

"Four years ago the press covered our first march as a novelty," says Jan Meriwether, "now they rely on us to do something." Meriwether is special projects director of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND), whose local chapters sponsored many of the Mother's Day peace events that were held in over 20 states. This year's activities ranged from a lone Delaware activist trying to get a peace service in her church, to the Chicago peace walk organized by Women for Peace, which drew national publicity and a crowd estimated between 6000 and 8000.

That the politicization of the holiday is growing outside the strict confines of the peace community is suggested by the Chicago peace walk, whose 135 sponsors included 46 religious groups, the YWCA, private schools and local businesses. And reporters were surprised to see local punk rockers helping to set up banners.

Not all of this year's actions were as successful as Chicago's, but for a variety of reasons—including a new definition of caretaking and the growing politicization of women—the holiday seems to work. "There's a certain appeal you can make that day that you can't make any other,"

says Barbara Tsairis, coordinator of the Seacoast WAND chapter in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Seacoast WAND took out a full-page ad in a local paper asking congressional representatives to support the quick freeze—and got the mayor, leading businessmen, and the entire state delegation to sign it. The chapter also rented the marquee of an idle movie theater, to advertise the message "Millions of Moms Want Peace."

Barbara Wiedner, founder of Grandmothers for Peace, agrees that the day is a good vehicle for reaching out to new women: "There are plenty of busy, apolitical mothers who will do something that one day out of love for their children."

The celebration at WAND's Boston headquarters must be one of the first peace actions ever covered on "Entertainment Tonight." After a public rally that included drama, speakers and voter registration, members attended a gala affair, where two actresses nominated for Academy Awards this year—WAND board member Jane Alexander and Meryl Streep, who has taped a public service spot for use by WAND chapters—were given the Helen Caldicott Leadership Award for their work for disarmament.

Several of this year's actions were graced by good timing. Women's Peace Initiative organized local lobbying efforts on May 10 aimed at the impending MX vote. And in Amarillo, Texas, a long-awaited "mock-accident" planned by the Department of Energy for the Pantex nuclear assembly plant unexpectedly took place the week before the holiday. The questionable test results, which claimed that radiation would only drift

nine miles, drew attention to a local action, in which members of WAND and N.W. Texas Clergy and Laity Concerned released 800 balloons from the plant's gates. The balloons carried a message explaining that they showed how far radiation would travel after an accident, and asking finders to report where they landed. One balloon was later found 30 miles away in Lake Meredith, the source of Amarillo's drinking water.

In Sacramento, California, a WAND chapter joined with Grandmothers for Peace for a second annual march on Mather Air Force Base. But the real news came the previous Friday, when seven GFP members, five of them repeat offenders, appeared in court for previous civil disobedience actions. "The judge was faced with putting seven grandmothers in jail over Mother's Day weekend," reports Wiedner exuberantly. Somewhat to their disappointment, the women were given sentences of 120 days of community service, work they plan to carry out wearing peace T-shirts.

—Cathy Cevoli

AT A FACILITY NEAR YOU

Peace Camps Open Summer Season

On some days at the Minnesota Women's Peace Camp this past winter, the temperature dropped to 30 below. At the Tucson Peace Camp last summer it was 114 in the shade with winds of 80 miles an hour. But despite such hardship, peace camps in the United States are growing.

The newest camp, called the Women's Peace Presence to Stop Project ELF (a proposed Navy communications system for nuclear submarines), opened Memorial Day weekend on land lent by local supporters. Located about 300 miles north of Madison, Wisconsin, the camp will accommodate several hundred women. They plan at least three major demonstrations, including one on July 4.

At the Silence One Silo Peace Camp near Great Falls, Montana, men and women are camping a quarter mile from a Minuteman III nuclear missile silo on land donated by a farmer. The group is canvassing farmers and ranchers in the area, offering workshops on agriculture and peace issues, and planning civil disobedience actions. They are also conducting tours of the silo, according to organizer Karl Zanzig. "A lot of people in Montana have never seen a missile silo and there are 200 in this state," he says.

Although uncertain about the location of their camp at press time, Savannah

Wrap-Up

After a two-year discussion involving three-quarters of its 1194 chapters, **The League of Women Voters** has come out against cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe and the MX, and in favor of no-first-use **Nonproliferation** activists were heartened in May when the House Energy and Commerce Committee unanimously approved legislation to ban the transfer of plutonium from civilian to military projects within the Energy Department. This action came in response to Reagan administration officials who said that these transfers might have to be made in order to meet the Pentagon's goal of producing 19,000 new nuclear warheads in the next decade Veterans in Rochester, New York, cancelled this year's **Memorial Day** parade rather than allow members of Women's Action for Peace to march with them On June 9, **Nukewatch** and the huge **American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees** (AFSCME) union in Wisconsin kicked off a campaign for state divestment from companies that conduct nuclear weapons work Eau Claire, Wisconsin, has become the latest Pairing Project community to receive goodwill packages from a Soviet counterpart—Velikiy Ustyug The Federation of American Scientists has started a **NATO Project** to inform the U.S. arms control community about developments in—and new weapons being designed for—Europe.

River Peace Encampment organizers have set July 1 as their opening date. The U.S. Department of Energy is attempting to close state park land used for last year's camp. The group plans workshops and door-to-door canvassing of the community. "We will be a base of community organizing," says Andee Goldstein. Most of the local residents work at the Savannah River Plant, where the government produces plutonium and tritium for nuclear warheads.

One of the original camps, the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice, will begin its official "summer program" on July 14 in Romulus, New York, outside the Seneca Army Depot, a departure point for Euromissiles. Responding to criticisms that last year's encampment lacked structure, organizers have created the summer program with thematic weekends of workshops and training sessions. The camp is located on private land purchased last spring so that the women could avoid the harassment from police and other authorities that has plagued other camps. "We plan to stay," reports Andrea Doremus.

The other permanent encampment is on the other side of the country, across the street from Boeing's Kent, Washington, plant, where parts for the cruise missile are made. "We have a house now," says Dian Nuxoll, a member of the Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp. The camp reopened in June with an attempted encirclement of the Boeing plant, about 20 miles from Seattle. A core group of about 40 women maintain the house.



Weaving a web of life at Puget Sound

The Minnesota Women's Camp for Peace and Justice opened last October and lasted through the winter outside the Sperry plant in St. Paul, Minnesota, which makes guidance systems for the cruise and Pershing missiles. Local authorities forced them to move from the Sperry parking lot to an area adjacent to a highway, owned by the state highway department. The women obtained a "permit" to camp there from a Native American group (whose land claims pre-date state ownership) and about 40 women now live in a longhouse made out of saplings. "We stay there in shifts," reports Polly Kellogg, "and manage to keep our jobs in the city." —Susan Jaffe

Notes From Abroad



Pacific Overtures

Palau, a tiny Pacific island with a population of 15,000, adopted a nuclear-free constitution by plebiscite in July 1980 and has been under pressure from the United States to abrogate it ever since. The reason? Palau would make an ideal base for Trident submarines and be a fallback for U.S. bases in the Philippines, which are threatened by growing opposition to the Marcos regime.

Palau and its neighboring island groups, the **Marshall Islands** and the **Marianas**, have been administered by the United States as a United Nations Trust Territory since World War II. The area has been used extensively and to devastating effect for atomic testing. Now, a Compact of Free Association that would grant these islands nominal independence while giving the United States complete responsibility for their "defense" has been submitted to Congress—leaving Palau out. Combined with cuts in U.S. economic aid to the island, the omission is an attempt to isolate the Palauans from their neighbors and force them to capitulate.

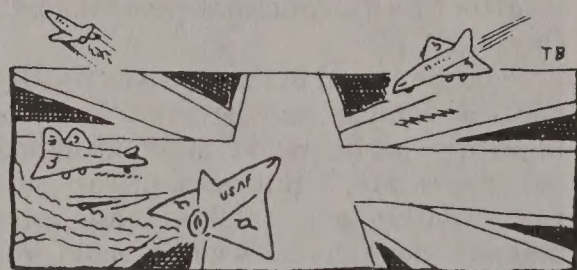
Meanwhile, antinuclear protests in the Pacific continue. Early this spring, demonstrations were held in **Tahiti** against French nuclear testing at Muroroa. In **Australia**, 250,000 people recently took part in antinuclear rallies, and in Auckland, **New Zealand**, a visiting U.S. nuclear-powered submarine, the *U.S.S. Queenfish*, was greeted by the black flags and beating drums of 50 boat-loads of protesters. And in **Japan**, the anti-Tomahawk movement held rallies this April in many cities and a major demonstration on May 27 at the U.S. base in Yokosuka, where the nuclear-armed battleship *U.S.S. New Jersey* was about to call.

The deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe has met its first serious hitch: the **Dutch** government has said that due to political pressures, it cannot deploy its allotted 48 missiles by 1986 as planned. Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers told reporters that unless a compromise can be found that satisfied NATO and the Dutch parliament, his government is in serious danger of falling. A general election in the Netherlands could well result in a Labor-Christian Democratic coalition government—and no missiles.

Almost at the same time as Lubbers' announcement, the **Danish** parliament voted, 49-12, to stop its payments for cruise missiles, making Denmark the first NATO country to withdraw from the program completely. Opponents of the missiles throughout Europe are hoping for a ripple effect, particularly in **Belgium**, where the government has made no formal announcement of its position on cruise, although construction at the Florennes base is well underway.

But the signs from other countries are not hopeful. In **Italy**, the Chamber of Deputies recently endorsed the defense minister's announcement that the 16 cruise missiles at Comiso are now operational by a vote of 317 to 25.

A new book by the British journalist Duncan Campbell, *The Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier*, states "there are no fewer than 135 U.S. military bases and facilities in **Britain**," and points out that one-fifth of U.S. Air Force personnel abroad are stationed there. The book's publica-



tion coincides with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's drive to inform the British people about the extent of U.S. military presence in their country. Meanwhile, official Department of Defense figures say up to a quarter of U.S. troops in Europe regularly take illicit drugs, including personnel in charge of nuclear weapons. Fourteen U.S. servicemen at Greenham Common were recently discharged for drug offenses. Perhaps the responsibility is getting them down?

Antinuclear groups are beginning to respond to the threat of an overt U.S. war against **Nicaragua** and the rebels in **El Salvador**. The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign is sending out lobby-alerts and information on the issue, and SANE has made candidates' positions on Central America a primary concern in its pre-election work. Mobilization for Survival has held five conferences around the country on the "deadly connection" between intervention and nuclear war.

According to a comprehensive new report from the Center for Defense Information, "the U.S. military appears to be preparing to fight in Central America, particularly Nicaragua." U.S. military involvement is rapidly escalating in all of the region's seven nations, including neutral Costa Rica and Belize.

—Maria Margaronis

Registration drives roll on

New Voters Mean New Politics?

Throughout the nation a host of voter registration campaigns—some buttressed by the support of peace organizations and activists—are forging ahead, in an attempt to bring several million new voters to the polls this fall. Nineteen hundred and eighty-four has become the year of voter registration, with antinuclear, minority, women's, labor, citizen action and student groups—as well as the Jesse Jackson campaign—all touting its significance and taking to the field.

Those involved in these drives usually speak in nonpartisan terms of “increasing citizen participation” and “expanding the electorate.” But antinuclear partisans within and outside these campaigns believe that new voters could provide crucial support for candidates who adopt strong arms control stands.

If new blocs of voters are brought to the polls in certain areas they could play a key role in the presidential and congressional elections. For example, if registration activists in Illinois—who are targeting minorities, low-income individuals and students—meet their goal of adding 30,000 new names to the voting rolls in both the 16th and 19th congressional districts, Representatives Lynn Martin and Daniel Crane, conservative Republicans, will have to worry. (Martin won her last race by 22,528 votes, and Crane by 7602 votes.) And 20,000 new registrants in the 17th district would probably help freshman Representative Lane Evans, a Democrat with a strong arms control record, retain his seat. (NUCLEAR TIMES takes no position on electoral contests.)

But just how much of a difference can these registration campaigns make? Republicans and some conservative groups have followed suit. The Republican National Committee and the Reagan-Bush campaign have each begun \$4 million registration efforts. And the Moral Majority has initiated its own drive in Texas and other states.

But the conventional wisdom among political analysts holds that efforts targeting minority and low-income individuals have the most potential for influ-

encing this year's elections—much to the benefit of peace groups that have entered the electoral arena. Many voter registration activists, citing numerous polls, maintain that their target constituencies are natural allies of the antinuclear movement.

“People who have not participated in the process represent the most liberal aspect of the electorate,” notes Donald Hazen, a consultant to voter registration groups. “They show strong support for a freeze and opposition to the military budget. They further the cause of the peace movement, and no one doubts that.”

But it is important to understand why a natural alliance exists, suggests Richard Cloward, a founder of the Human Service Employees Registration Voting and Education Fund (Human SERVE), which claims to have registered half a million people this year. “Low-income and minority people are intrinsically antiwar, but they are not necessarily *ideologically* indignant about the arms race,” explains Cloward, a professor at the School of Social Work at Columbia University. “The more they vote, however, the greater the pressure for social programs, and this leads to pressure for cuts in the military budget.” So the political pressure they apply complements the work of arms control advocates.

A NEW CONSTITUENCY

In California's Tulare and Kings counties—located between Fresno and Bakersfield—Voting for Peace and Organized to Win Economic Rights (Voting POWER), a SANE affiliate, has run a multi-issue registration drive that so far has netted 10,000 new registrants. Voting POWER went to poor neighborhoods and set up tables at supermarkets, welfare and unemployment offices and community centers. Those who signed up, says Beth Goldberg of Voting POWER, are “a new constituency” in a congressional district represented by a conservative Republican, Charles Pashayan Jr. In 1982 Pashayan won his seat by 12,000 votes. Voting POWER, which raises such issues as the arms race and unemployment, now plans to move into other areas.

On the other coast, the New Jersey Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze sponsored a six-day voter registration march across the state, May 28 to June 2. Working with the state Human SERVE campaign, freeze activists selected sites along the route—such as a food stamp line in Trenton—where they could approach people.

In Bergen County, New Jersey, the coordinator of the local SANE chapter, Cecilia Raven, is also the coordinator of the local Human SERVE chapter. “With Human SERVE,” she says, “we have the opportunity to reach people we can't reach otherwise. These people are not part of SANE's natural constituency, which is primarily middle-class.” Though the registration efforts of Human SERVE do not highlight particular issues—its strategy calls for private and public social service agencies to register their clientele—Raven notes that “on our issues, these people are quite sympathetic.”

Nationally, Human SERVE has linked up with Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND), which has launched its own campaign to register women. Human SERVE, says Cloward, looks to WAND to “push the idea that women in social services should talk up the idea of voter registration.” He notes that social service agencies are staffed 70 percent by women and that a great proportion of their beneficiaries are women. Working through these agencies, he maintains, is the only way for women's organizations to reach low-income women. “They're not able to organize volunteers to go door-knocking in poor neighborhoods,” Cloward adds.

FREEZE VOTES?

Human SERVE is not the only registration campaign that has attracted movement support. During Peace with Justice Week in May, an organizer for Project Vote worked in the national office of the Jobs with Peace campaign, trying to matchmake local Project Vote chapters with churches and peace groups participating in the week's activities. But this effort was only partially successful,

says Seth Adler of Jobs with Peace.

"We were more successful on an educational level than achieving high-number registration goals," Adler reports. "In general there is a certain intransigence among peace groups to take up voter registration in a full-fledged way. A lot of grass-roots activists don't identify this as politically effective." Following Peace with Justice Week, Jobs with Peace sent one of its staff people to work in the Project Vote office.

Freeze activists are participating in the Chicago Coalition for Voter Registration. Later this summer, when the coalition, which includes a wide range of organizations (including Operation PUSH, the Machinists union and the League of Women Voters), starts trying to register students, it expects to use the freeze as its "main issue theme" on campuses, says organizer Guy Costello. The Chicago chapter of Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War led a recent registration effort in Chicago-area high schools.

Campuses are often cited as fertile ground for registration. Beth DeGrasse of the National Student Campaign for Voter Registration, which estimates it has already registered 250,000, points to a Louis Harris poll (conducted in January) that shows 18 to 29-year-olds to be more supportive of the freeze, affirmative action, environmental laws, and the Equal Rights Amendment than the population as a whole.

Within many of the registration coalitions formed on about 750 campuses, peace activists are again just one component. But DeGrasse notes some campuses where concern for the arms race is a "key motivating factor" for the registration drive. At Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, she says, "freeze posters encouraging registration are everywhere."

Bill Wasserman, the campaign's western states field coordinator, reports that the California effort registered 50,000 in the spring and recruited 500 student volunteers, who the campaign will place in its own and other voter registration programs. Nationwide, the campaign has found 4000 such volunteers, who are expected to work at least three hours a week during the summer.

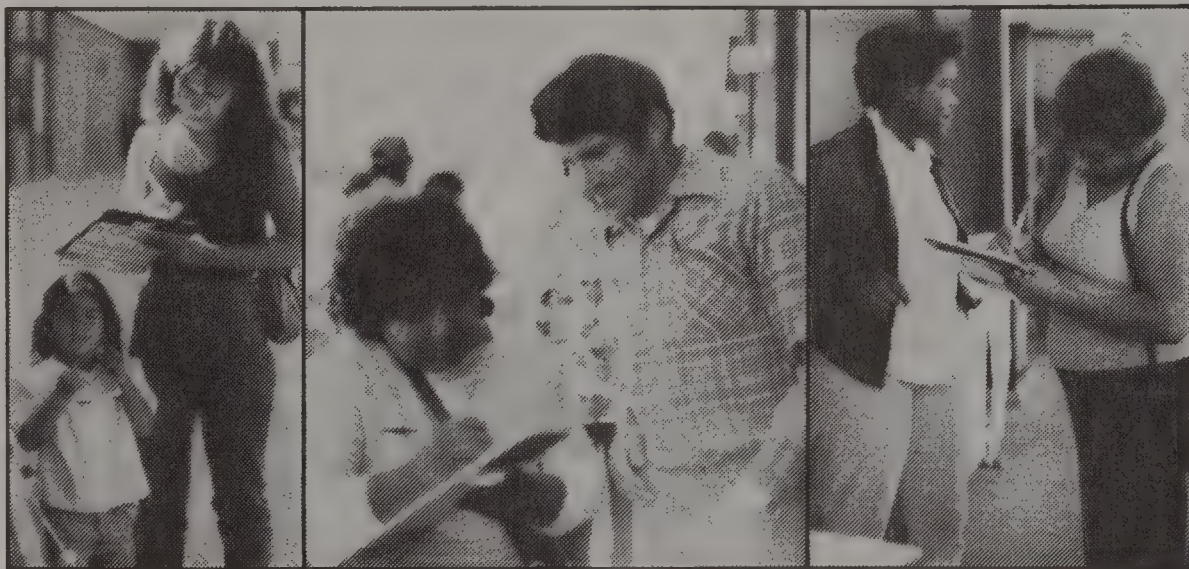
BY THE NUMBERS

What do all these registration campaigns add up to? Some scattered numbers: Project Vote is hoping for over 500,000. The Women's Vote Project has set an ambitious goal of 1.5 million. The Southwest Voter Registration Education Project claims to have already registered several hundred thousand, mostly

Mexican-Americans in Texas, Colorado, Arizona and California.

But one political analyst observes that the well-financed and narrowly targeted Republican effort could have a significant effect itself. "If you believe that money is the mother's milk of politics, you have to believe that spending that much money [\$8 million] will have an effect," says the analyst privately. He notes that in the Florida Cuban community the Republicans are spending up to \$10 for each registrant, while Project Vote spends about \$1 a head where it operates. Reportedly, the Moral Majority hopes to register more than two million. While some of the claims made by partisans of low-income,

out on Election Day. Most of the registration drives plan to follow up with get-out-the-vote campaigns in the fall. Human SERVE, however, has been criticized by some registration activists for not developing plans for intensive follow-up to their registration efforts. "Unless you do effective follow-up—a phone-call, a piece of mail—you won't get a high percentage of those you register," says DeGrasse. Cloward counters that Human SERVE is encouraging social service agencies to "plaster their waiting rooms with get-out-the-vote literature." And he maintains that traditionally a high percentage of registrants do turn out to vote.



At California supermarkets Voting POWER registers some first-time voters

minority and student registration may be overstated, the analyst says, "people who think the Republicans have it all sewn up are not looking at the numbers. All this activity going on makes this fall election a real wild card."

Registration drives, though, are not political cure-alls. These campaigns may only be "marginally determinative," says Curtis Gans of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate. But in close contests they could be the factor that decides a race. Gans points to the example of the 1960 presidential election. If Richard Nixon had won just 9000 extra votes in Illinois and 47,000 in Texas, there would have been no Camelot. "It's too early to evaluate the claims of voter registration making a difference," Gans maintains. "But it's enough to say that even if you take 20 percent of what they claim it could make a difference." He cites the Charles Percy-Paul Simon race for the Senate in Illinois as a contest that could turn on the influx of new voters. "In critical states for the presidential race—New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Texas and California—minorities are potentially important," he adds.

But registering to vote means nothing if those on the rolls do not actually turn

"Registration efforts aside, this presidential election could turn on middle-class women voting on war and peace issues," Gans adds. He cites exit polls that show middle-class women favoring Reagan in 1980 by 49 to 42 percent. "If that figure becomes 55 to 45 percent in the other direction," Gans says, "Reagan could lose the election without a single new registrant"—if this bloc makes it to the polls.

On a grander scale, however, some registration activists talk about changing the face of American politics, challenging the political status quo. In some areas, though, they have encountered obstacles—restrictive registration laws, recalcitrant election boards, public agencies that will not allow registrars in their waiting rooms. To break through these areas, the major registration campaigns have banded together to form a Right To Register coalition, which will bring lawsuits to facilitate registration.

This is a move that should attract peace movement support, says registration consultant Donald Hazen. "Registration," he says, "increases the size of the peace movement." And after all, does the peace movement want to protect, or shake up, the status quo? —David Corn

Ballot campaigns

Taking Initiatives For Peace

This year, antinuclear ballot initiatives will not sweep the country as they did in 1982 when nine states, the District of Columbia, and 27 counties and cities voted for a nuclear freeze. Two years later nuclear free zone initiatives are pending in at least half a dozen communities, and statewide ballot tests will be held in only three states—South Dakota, Nebraska and Montana.

"In 1982 initiatives were the focus of our agenda," says Ben Senturia, political education outreach coordinator for the national Freeze Campaign in St. Louis. "Now we've progressed to other strategies. But the initiative process is still a wonderful vehicle for outreach in areas where support for the freeze is an unknown quantity. It has great organizing value when used in the right place at the right time."

Freeze supporters will learn this fall whether South Dakota is such a site. In February, organizers turned in 18,000 signatures to place a freeze initiative on the November ballot. "Everyone says that South Dakota is a conservative state and we'll never win," says Tim Langley at the Peace and Justice Center in Watertown. "We need to challenge this perception. I think people will be surprised." Langley notes that a Peace-Through-Strength initiative failed to collect the 14,000 signatures needed to win a place on the ballot.

The committee that drafted South Dakota's freeze initiative learned several lessons from a trial petition circulated in 1982. The trial petition, Langley says, stated that the freeze would be verifiable, but because the term was buried in the text people tended to miss the concept entirely. As a result, this year's initiative has a separate clause devoted to verification. "We also got as many nice, Anglo-Saxon words in there as we could instead of technical jargon," says Langley. And in anticipation of people asking "so what's the point of all this?" the committee added a third section explaining that a freeze is not the answer to everything—it's just a first step.

So far, Langley has encountered little outright opposition to the initiative; even at Kiwanis Clubs in small towns, he says, people are more inquisitive than hostile. But he does concede that freeze supporters have some anxiety that "a person skillful with language could hurt us [with a smear campaign] when it's too late in the game to counter it." And since South

Dakota is one of just two states voting on a freeze initiative, organizers think the media may take the outcome of their vote as an indication of the mood of the nation toward the freeze. "If we don't make a credible showing," Langley says, "there is some danger in how general a way people will interpret that."

While activists in South Dakota concentrate on raising the \$30,000 needed for media outreach and other expenses, freeze backers in Nebraska are caught up in a legal battle to simply get their anti-MX, pro-freeze initiative on the ballot; they have been waiting since March 6 for a state Supreme Court ruling. The court was preoccupied with impeachment proceedings against the state's attorney general, Paul Douglass, for questionable financial activities. (According



to organizers, it was Douglass who objected to the acceptance of the freeze initiative on the grounds that it is not a law, but merely an advisory measure, and hence not an appropriate electoral issue. In fact, the initiative says that the state government *must*, by law, transmit its message—which is advisory—to the president and Congress.)

Anticipating a legal victory, over 60 local freeze groups had collected more than 15,000 signatures by late May (they need 38,000 by July 6).

"I feel very strongly that if the court focuses on the legal merits of our case—and not on the issue—we'll get a favorable ruling," says Steve Gehring, one of the lawyers handling the case for the Freeze Campaign. "And the court knows," Gehring adds, "that it must be extremely careful in limiting the people's

power to be co-equal with the legislature."

Mike Kadal, a state representative in Montana (where, in 1982, 57 percent of the voters passed a pro-freeze, anti-MX initiative) agrees that "empowering the people" is the point of initiative campaigns. Kadal has co-authored a second initiative opposing first-strike weapons and deployment of missiles in Montana, and calling for the United States and the Soviet Union to each dismantle a single missile as the first step toward further reductions. Organizers need to collect 18,000 signatures by June 29; by the end of May they had over 10,000. Over 30 area coordinators are at work.

The Montana initiative has been attracting a good deal of attention since it deals with the novel idea of dismantling missiles in a state which contains 200 Minuteman missile silos. "This is a serious proposal for the beginning of the disarmament process," says Kadal. "And it's coming from a state on the front lines—a state with missiles. We hope our message will excite the rest of the country."

In California activists began two statewide antinuclear initiative drives—one to make the state a nuclear free zone (NFZ), the other to urge the president to adopt a no-first-use policy. But the NFZ campaign failed to obtain the necessary number of signatures, and the no-first-use drive was abandoned. (Its initiator, John Somerville, wanted to save time, and went directly to Congress where he persuaded six members to sign a letter urging President Reagan to adopt a no-first-use policy.) In Los Angeles, though, a Jobs with Peace (JWP) initiative has made it onto the ballot—the first initiative of any kind to do so since 1939.

"A volunteer effort had to transcribe two million numbers from computer printouts to petitions," says JWP initiative coordinator Larry Frank. "Every name, in order to be valid, has to have an accompanying precinct number. No wonder no one's done this since 1939."

The Jobs with Peace initiative combines a nonbinding call for decreased military spending and increased social expenditures with a binding measure requiring the Los Angeles city council to draw up (and publish in city papers) an alternative budget every year as if the military budget were decreased to pre-1980 levels. Forty labor unions endorse the initiative, and many unionists have actively worked on the campaign; its organizers' headquarters are located at the offices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It enjoys such broadbased support that, even after a robbery on March 16 cost organizers



Turn to Nuclear Times

☐ **YES, I want to subscribe now and save!**

Please enter my subscription at the special Charter Rate of one full year for \$15 (get an extra issue if you include payment with order).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ **My check is enclosed for \$** _____.

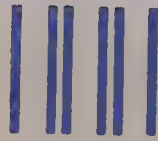
(Get an extra issue if you include payment with order. Add \$7 for Canada, \$17 foreign, for 1-2 week delivery.)

☐ **Bill me.**

☐ **I am enclosing an additional contribution of \$** _____ **to support NUCLEAR TIMES.**

(This contribution is tax-deductible.)

X64



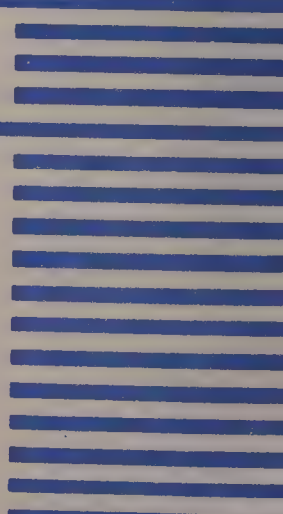
NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 7996 NYC, N.Y.

Postage will be paid by addressee

Box 1308 EA
Nuclear Times
Fort Lee, N.J. 07024





Turn to Nuclear Times

☐ **YES, I want to subscribe now and save!**

Please enter my subscription at the special
Charter Rate of one full year for \$15 (get an extra
issue if you include payment with order).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ **My check is enclosed for \$ _____.**

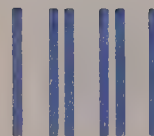
(Get an extra issue if you include payment with order. Add \$7 for Canada, \$17 foreign, for
1-2 week delivery.)

☐ **Bill me.**

☐ **I am enclosing an additional contribution of \$ _____ to support NUCLEAR TIMES.**

(This contribution is tax-deductible.)

X64



NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 7996 NYC, N.Y.

Postage will be paid by addressee

Box 1308 EA
Nuclear Times
Fort Lee, N.J. 07024



24,000 signatures, the campaign bounced back, fortified with new volunteers, and turned in over 113,000 signatures—hailed in two trucks—on May 14.

"This kind of economic strategy allows us to go beyond the usual moral posturing of the peace movement," says Frank, who adds that the coalition will concentrate on a media campaign and house meetings in preparation for the fall vote. "Los Angeles county has more military dollars coming into it than any other state, except New York and California," says Frank. "We're just hoping that these local actions and initiatives will prove, in the long run, to be the military's Achilles' heel."

—Renata Rizzo

Frost-bitten Hart Nixes Quick Freeze

On May 16, the day that the House of Representatives took up the MX missile, Senator Gary Hart finally met with members of the Peace Roundtable in Washington, D.C. (Walter Mondale met with the activists on January 23.) So it was only fitting that the first question posed to Hart was: Would he call Representative Martin Frost, who had been identified as a swing vote on the MX and had been lobbied heavily by anti-MX forces? Frost had recently chaired Hart's Texas campaign for the May 5 primary.

Hart obliged. According to some present, he picked up the nearest phone, rang up Frost, and told him he was calling for two reasons. Number one, to thank Frost for running his campaign in Texas. Apparently, Hart had not yet thanked Frost for his efforts, some observers concluded. "I immediately thought, 'There goes Martin Frost,'" says one activist who was present. Number two, to ask Frost to oppose the MX. That evening, Frost backed the MX, voting against the amendment to kill the missile.

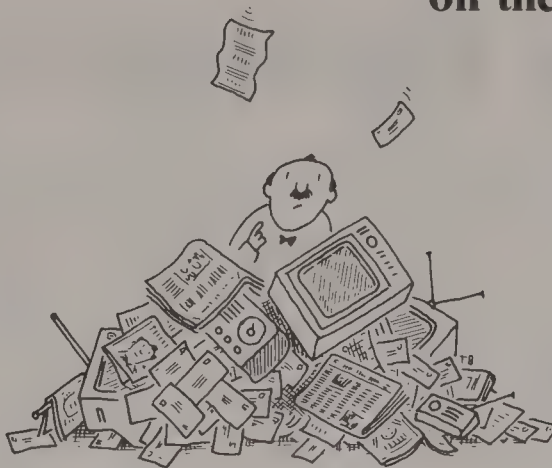
During the meeting, Hart noted his opposition to the recently introduced Arms Race Moratorium Act—the quick freeze. (Mondale does not back the Act either.) Hart maintained that it was the president's prerogative—not that of Congress—to negotiate with the Soviets. Hart also declined to repudiate the build-down proposal, claiming credit for the idea and supporting it as a disincentive for further weapons production. Hart added he does not back build-down as a way to justify new weapons. "But it was hard to tell," says one activist, "at what point he would decide build-down is being misused."

—D.C.

Are you inundated with facts and figures
on the Nuclear Arms Buildup?

Do you want to keep up
on the efforts to
reverse the Arms Race?

Are you concerned
about the threat of
Nuclear War, but don't
know where to turn?



Turn to Nuclear Times

If you, like most of us, are sometimes confused or overwhelmed by the twisting course of nuclear-related events and issues, you'll be grateful to find this helping hand.

Each month you will be provided with the latest information on the efforts to reverse the Nuclear Arms Race.

You will find:

- Informative, fact-filled news.
- Profiles on movement leaders, innovators, activists & thinkers.
- The latest & best resources—books, bulletins, video tapes, directories & more.
- Coverage of the '84 elections.
- Plans, strategies, opinions.

So don't hesitate. Here at last is **Nuclear Times**, the one place to turn.

YES, I want to subscribe now & save!

Please enter my subscription at the special Charter Rate of one full year for \$15 (get an extra issue if you include payment with order).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ My check is enclosed for \$ _____.

(Get an extra issue if you include payment with order. Add \$7 for Canada, \$17 foreign, for 1-2 week delivery.)

☐ Bill me.

☐ I am enclosing an additional contribution of \$ _____ to support NUCLEAR TIMES.

(This contribution is tax-deductible.)

Send to: Box 1308 EA, Nuclear Times, Fort Lee, New Jersey 07024

X64

Shaking up the platform

Cranston Talks The Plank

Although Senator Alan Cranston's presidential bid evaporated long ago, he is still trying to affect the Democrats' debate with his peace plank for the Democratic Party platform. Cranston is currently seeking endorsements for the proposal—which calls for wide-ranging moratoria on various weapon systems—from party delegates (particularly those on the platform committee), influential politicians and antinuclear organizations. Prior to the full platform committee meetings on June 21–24 in Washington, D.C., however, the key strategy was “to build maximum fires under the presidential candidates,” says Harris Wofford, coordinator of the panel of experts that drafted the peace plank.

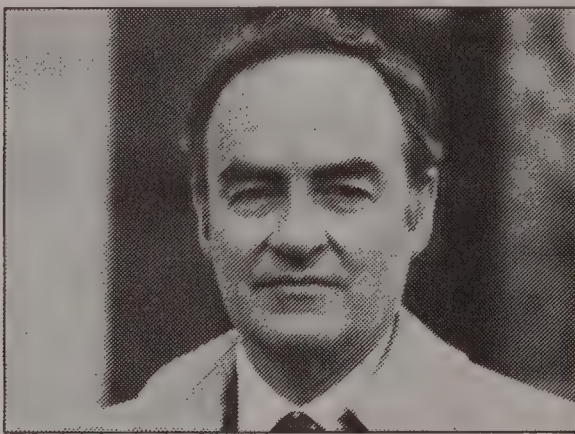
Both Walter Mondale and Senator Gary Hart have sent letters to Cranston. Mondale pointed out the similarities between his own campaign proposals and some of the plank's recommendations, such as its call for a freeze, a comprehensive test ban, and a moratorium on space weapons. He noted that upon taking office, he would “quickly” challenge the Soviets to moratoria “in selected areas of testing and deploying new nuclear weapons.” But Mondale stressed that it is “essential for the Democratic Party to unite around a solid program . . . to defeat Ronald Reagan,” signaling his desire to avoid a platform fight.

Hart also noted support for many of the plank's provisions, adding that he has proposed “a mutual and verifiable moratorium on the testing and production of new strategic ballistic missiles, to begin as soon as the next President takes office.” But he criticized the platform for not giving enough weight to the issue of verification, which “needs to be raised as a central and distinct item on the arms control agenda.” Hart also maintained that the United States should not adopt a no-first-use policy until consulting with European allies and increasing NATO's conventional forces. Jesse Jackson, who backs no-first-use, has repeatedly expressed his support for the entire plank.

Wofford anticipates that those components of the peace plank that Mondale and Hart support will be included in the draft of the party platform presented to the platform committee.

Allies of the peace plank, on and off the platform committee, Wofford reports, will probably concentrate their efforts therefore on more controversial elements of the Cranston plank, which

neither Hart nor Mondale support—reduced military spending, a no-first-use declaration, and a broad nuclear weapons moratorium that includes more than strategic ballistic missiles. If these measures fail to win majority support on the committee, they may be considered later as minority planks, providing they win at least 25 percent within the platform committee. By becoming a minority plank, a proposal is guaranteed a floor vote at the convention, unless its sponsor withdraws the measure.



Wofford: Building a “maximum fire”

As part of the campaign to drum up support for the peace plank, Roger Landrum, staff coordinator for the peace platform program of the Council for a Livable World, has been recruiting leading national antinuclear organizations associated with the Peace Roundtable in Washington, D.C. The idea is to have these groups apply pressure on those active in the platform drafting process, including delegates and party officials. But group representatives do not agree on every detail of the plank, so Landrum has drawn up “points of consensus.” He notes that some disagree with emphasizing no-first-use, and believe that the proposed nuclear weapons moratorium (which includes the MX, Pershing 2, Trident I and II, long-range cruise and Midgetman missiles, the B-1 and Stealth bombers, and the Trident submarine) is too broad to be politically feasible.

But this hasn't stopped some grassroots Democrats and antinuclear activists from working for the plank. In Wisconsin, Midge Miller, a representative to the state assembly, obtained endorsements from the governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state and two-thirds of the Wisconsin legislature.

Will the plank in the end actually be incorporated into the Democratic platform? One member of the platform com-

mittee, who helped write several platforms in the past, wonders whether the plank makes sense in a party platform, “which is a legislative program,” or if it is really more suitable as “instructions to a negotiating team.” But supporters on the platform committee include Representative William Gray of Pennsylvania, one of 12 co-chairpersons. In Illinois, freeze activist Wendy Georges, a plank proponent (and a Hart delegate), reports that at least three of the state's eight platform committee members back the plank.

It is unclear just how much, if any, of a floor fight concerning minority planks will ensue at the convention. Cranston is not eager to lead a floor fight, Landrum reports, but he would join one if it developed. “Cranston would like to go into the convention with a party-unity position,” Landrum explains. But he wants to push Mondale and Hart as far as they will go.

Wofford speculates that Jackson may want to lead a floor fight or that delegates might independently pursue their own. Jackson will have to make a “tough political decision” about whether to press a minority peace plank at the convention, says Robert Borosage, director of the Institute for Policy Studies. Borosage, who Landrum describes as one of Jackson's representatives to the platform drafting process, says that Jackson's decision “will depend on what gets written into the platform, whether citizens groups want to fight on the floor, and the possibility of actually winning.” Another possibility is that a very vague platform—which some party officials have called for—may spark a backlash at the convention.

—Alex Miller

The Right Stuff

Representative Paul Simon's bid to unseat Senator Charles Percy of Illinois has attracted much support from the antinuclear movement. Simon, perhaps to his chagrin, has also won the endorsement of three of the New Right's heaviest hitters—Richard Viguerie, publisher of *Conservative Digest*; Howard Phillips, chair of the Conservative Caucus; and Terry Dolan, head of the National Conservative Political Action Committee. It's not that they are enamored with Simon's strong pro-freeze stance; rather, they are enraged by Percy's moderate Republican record (Percy is the influential chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee). “It would be best to have him [Percy] gone, regardless of any particular consequence,” says an aide to Viguerie, referring to the possibility of a Democratic takeover in the Senate.

—D.C.

Democratic Convention plans unfold

The Medium & The Message

Nearly 100 local and nationwide organizations have worked together to promote their antinuclear, environmental message at the Democratic National Convention in July. Owing largely to the advance work of the San Francisco-based Peace and Environmental Convention Coalition (PECC), this message will reach the nearly 4000 delegates and 15,000 reporters who will attend the convention, as well as the millions of people who will watch it on television or read about it in the newspapers.

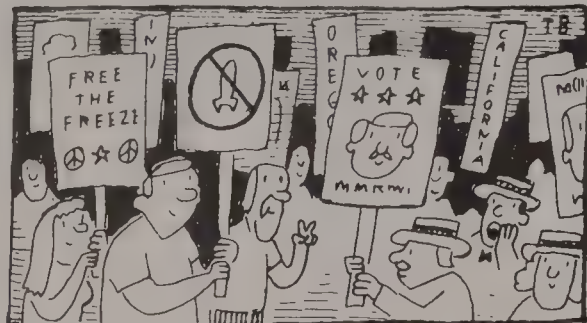
Some of the goals of antinuclear groups during the convention are to press peace and environment planks for the Democratic platform, organize freeze caucuses within every state delegation, lobby delegates who are potential allies, support and entertain delegates who are already peace movement supporters, and provide the press with plenty of news with a peace angle (see *listing of activities in the Calendar, p. 30*).

But some activists will take their message to the streets, as well. Arrests by

San Francisco police at protests of recent appearances by Henry Kissinger and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger left some activists concerned that security at the convention will be heavy-handed and restrict free speech. Captain Charles Beene says the San Francisco Police Department has contacted groups planning rallies to minimize the disruption both to the convention and to protesters. The police plan to seal off the block in front of the convention center, and any group wishing to use the area must obtain a permit, Beene says. The San Francisco office of the American Civil Liberties Union is monitoring the permit process.

The PECC-endorsed protest activities will be peaceful and "positive," says coordinator Amy Kelly, who discourages "negative" protests. Referring to a July 17 picket planned by the Livermore Action Group (LAG) outside the convention center, Kelly says: "All we can say to them [LAG] is we think it's not productive."

LAG is known for its mass blockades of the Lawrence Livermore National Weapons Laboratory. It toned down its scheduled activities for convention week, though some group members are independently planning civil disobedience protests at the convention. "We don't want a pitched, 1968, Chicago-style battle," says LAG's spokesperson Patrick Diehl. But LAG has planned a civil diso-



bedience action for the weekend after the convention at the Bohemian Grove, an exclusive Northern California retreat whose all-male membership includes corporate and political leaders. "The expectation is that some delegates will be at the Bohemian Grove that weekend for an annual gathering," Diehl says. "Our theme is that we will quarantine the Grove to keep the people inside because they're too dangerous to the world to let loose."

—David Newdorf

Spend some time in 1984 at World Fellowship Center, a "Nuclear Free Zone" in the White Mountains of New Hampshire



Sample programs of our 44th summer season:

JULY 6-12: MAKING CONNECTIONS IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

Weekend: Friday; **"THE DEADLY CONNECTION"** with Russell Johnson, just returned from the Philippines and Southeast Asia. Long-time Education Director of AFSC in the New England area.

Saturday; **"THE U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT AND THE U.S.S.R."** with Alan Thompson. Exec. Dir. of the National Council on American-Soviet Friendship and Presbyterian minister.

SUNDAY, JULY 8: MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR WILLARD UPHAUS AND DEDICATION OF THE UPHAUS LODGE (forenoon). Ruth Uphaus, Director of Amity House, St. Petersburg, Fla. will be with us for this special occasion. (Evening) **"BRIDGES FOR PEACE,"** with Rev. Richard Hough-Ross, co-ordinator of this exchange program with the Soviet Union, and minister of the United Church of Christ in Peacham, Vt.

Monday: **"THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PASTORAL LETTER ON PEACE AND ITS IMPACT"** with Father Bill Leonard of the Jesuit Community, Boston College, and member of the Volga Peace Tour 1983.

Tuesday: **"NEW HAMPSHIRE FREEZE VOTER PLEDGE"**

with Roy Morrison and Kurt Ehrenburg, staff members of the state-wide nuclear freeze committee.

Wednesday: **"WITNESS FOR PEACE";** the Rev. Linda Snyder of Madison, N.H., who participated in this ecumenial witness of Nicaragua earlier this year.

Thursday: **"EDUCATION FOR A PEACEFUL WORLD."** Ernest Drucker, psychologist, educator, researcher, member of the Board of Directors for Educators for Social Responsibility, discusses the educational challenge of preparing the next generation to live in a world without war.

Monday, August 6: HIROSHIMA DAY OBSERVANCE. **"THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR."** Shepherd Bliss will speak from his experiences as a former military officer in the U.S. Army, and his recent studies of war. He currently teaches psychology in the San Francisco Bay area, from which he will be coming directly after attending the National Democratic Convention. Also Mark Gerzon, author of **A Choice of Heroes: The Changing Faces of American Manhood.**

Tuesday: **"GROWING UP UNDER THE MUSHROOM CLOUD"** with Bert Schachter, Professor of Social Work at New York University.

Wednesday: **Slide Show on Hiroshima,** with a representative from Concerned Educators Allied for a Safe Environment.

For full details write: World Fellowship (NT), Conway, N.H. 03818 (603) 447-2280.

BY RICHARD HEALEY

Big Questions, Essential Steps

Randy Kehler deserves our thanks for opening a discussion of so many important issues for the disarmament movement (Forum, June '84). I want to comment on two of them: the need for collaborative efforts and the future of the freeze concept.

Many national groups seem to be feeling the need for much more collaboration, to be more effective and to be strong enough to survive the ups and downs that any movement goes through. Ideally, this collaboration would be formalized with the creation of a federation or umbrella organization, in which as many groups as possible would cooperate in carrying out certain tasks or functions and at the same time retain their independence. The umbrella organization might be a restructured Freeze Campaign, or it might be something with a new name, such as "Americans United for Peace," which would include the Freeze Campaign. One task of this federation would be joint decision-making about major targets, goals and national activities for a six-month or 12-month period.

Another function of a federation might be to strengthen grass-roots groups. One way to help local groups is to encourage stronger regional and statewide bodies. A national federation could provide funding and other resources to staff (and to create, if necessary) state and regional peace centers, which would be governed by the local groups in their region. Such centers could provide training on a variety of organizational skills, promote communication among the local groups themselves and between the local and the national groups, and offer a place for more leadership to develop.

The most useful way to begin such a collaboration would be to focus on some of the more concrete aspects of any anti-nuclear group's work—media and funding. One start would be an agreement among several of the national groups on the development of themes and slogans that can be publicized in a common media strategy. As for funding—often the hardest issue when it comes to common work—these national groups could discuss using this umbrella organization as a "United Way" for the movement.

We should remember, however, that the existing disarmament groups do not comprise the entire peace movement.

National and local religious groups are playing a major role today, and I suspect they will become even more important in the future. It is crucial to think about much more collaboration with them.

SHOULD A FREEZE COME FIRST?

I hope that all this collaboration does not depend on complete agreement with Kehler's argument that a freeze is "an essential first step toward nuclear disarmament." I can imagine many other logical or plausible first steps, ranging from a comprehensive test ban treaty to



an agreement on deep cuts in nuclear stockpiles. What is essential is the demand to stop and reverse the arms race, to end the threat of nuclear war.

What happens next with the freeze concept depends largely on 1985. If Reagan is reelected, I would guess that we should continue to make the freeze the central *theme* of our work, not necessarily a specific, immediate, *legislative* goal. At the same time we should focus on more modest legislative goals that seem more likely to be attainable, such as stopping one or more new weapon systems, or a new test ban treaty. Moreover, if there is further serious escalation of U.S. intervention in Central America, the freeze movement should mobilize to halt that intervention.

A Democratic president does not guarantee a freeze. We will have to fight for it in any case. I hope that I am not hopelessly naive, however, to believe that we will need to think about going beyond a freeze if a Democrat is elected.

But no matter who is elected president, the disarmament movement can not afford to think only about a freeze, or defeating a specific weapon system. Previous movements have won impressive victories, such as SALT I, the 1963 Test Ban Treaty, the cancellation of the B-1 bomber, and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Today, the B-1 is back, the United States is intervening in Central America, and the peace movement has hardly started to work on the Trident II missile.

Any victory will be short-lived if the underlying political context in the United States stays as it is today and has been since World War II. Over the next few years the disarmament movement will have to concern itself with the larger questions of U.S. foreign policy. Containment of communism, the need for ever-more armaments, the right to intervene anywhere in the world—these seem to be the fundamental themes of U.S. foreign policy.

Developing strategy regarding these issues would be facilitated by a federation of peace groups. At first, this collaboration would not encompass all these issues, since many disarmament organizations have very specific limitations. But within this umbrella organization, we could discuss in a much more useful manner how far we can move into the anti-intervention field.

Any mass movement that stays around for a while has to mature and find answers. We have to understand the roots of our nuclear arms and foreign policies. We have to articulate concrete policy alternatives, and they have to become part of the movement's public face. What is *our* version of U.S. foreign policy? How do we propose alternatives? These are the bottom-line questions for those who stay in the movement.

Today the peace movement is by and large a freeze movement; we will have to become more than that over the next few years. We will have to be able to band together and challenge the major themes of U.S. foreign policy if we are to achieve our goals. □

Richard Healey is director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy in Washington, D.C. We urge readers to join the dialogue sparked by the Kehler article.

Ideas That Work



You want to protest a visible aspect of the arms race, but there's no nuclear weapons plant in your town where you can demonstrate. The nuclear warhead-laden "white train" doesn't come anywhere near your region, and your local hotel isn't about to host a missile marketing conference. But chances are you *do* live near a bank, and many banks have capital invested in corporations that produce nuclear weapons.

Starting last summer members of the Madison, Wisconsin-based group called Disarmament Now mounted a campaign to pressure banks to divest from nuclear weapons contractors and switch to more "peaceful" investments. According to Disarmament Now member Sam Day, the Securities and Exchange Commission requires that banks submit annual reports—which are matters of public record—listing their investments. Disarmament Now members are concentrating on five Madison banks with nuclear weapons investments; the First Wisconsin Bank, for example, annually invests \$75 million in major contractors for the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, according to Day. The group's approach is three-tiered: an initial conversation with the bank president, followed by a leafletting campaign directed at the bank's patrons, and capped off by non-violent civil disobedience (usually consisting of singing and chanting) in the bank's lobby.

While no bank has yet abandoned investments in nuclear weapons, Day reports that the campaign is getting a lot of press attention ("It's colorful stuff," he says, "the media eats it up") and leafletting gives the group a chance to make personal contact with Madison residents. In addition, Disarmament Now has received inquiries about "safe" places to keep money (usually small banks). The group has applied for a grant that would enable it to involve peace groups in other Wisconsin cities. For a copy of the group's organizing brochure, contact Disarmament Now at 315 West Gorham Street, Madison, WI 53703 (608) 256-4146.

In a similar effort, Nuclear Free



America has developed a "nuclear free investment" strategy for city and state governments, many of which invest in nuclear weapons manufacturers. Investment clauses are usually tacked on to nuclear free zone ordinances. Such an ordinance was passed in Takoma Park, Maryland (whose investment portfolio was subsequently found to be "clean"), and, more recently, in Amherst, Massachusetts, although organizers in that city are waiting for the attorney general to approve the ordinance. For a list of the top corporations involved in the production of nuclear weapons, contact Nuclear Free America at 2521 Guilford Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 235-3575.

Tom Andrews, a state representative, and a network of antinuclear activists in Maine recently teamed up to effect the passage of a law mandating statewide educational clearinghouses on nuclear war and nuclear energy for public school students and faculty.

Andrews, who had previously sponsored a successful state bill mandating public hearings on civil defense planning for nuclear war, came up with the clearinghouse idea, he says, "because we owe our children nothing less. They're aware that they may be living on the edge of a nuclear disaster. So let's give them the tools they need to cope with that awareness." From the beginning, when members of Educators for Social Responsibility, Physicians for Social Responsibility, and the Freeze Campaign helped Andrews develop the bill, peace activists played a significant role in its eventual passage. "I can't overestimate the power of citizen participation in legislative matters," Andrews says.

When members of the state's Joint Standing Committee on Education expressed opposition to the bill, Andrews worked with legislators on some language changes, and antinuclear supporters launched a telephone campaign aimed at the 11 committee representatives. "We had people calling in from all over the state," says Gary Akovenko, a member of the Maine Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. Within a week, the committee voted unanimously in favor of the bill, which was subsequently passed by the state legislature, and signed into law by the governor.

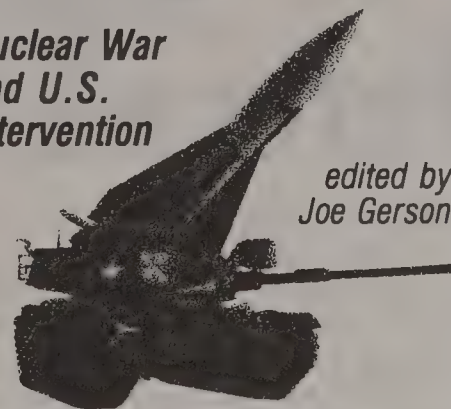
Andrews believes that working on a legislative effort of this kind "makes the issue of nuclear warfare real to parents, kids, everyone. It brings it all down to a concrete level." He hopes that Maine's experience will provide a useful model for other states. For a copy of the bill, and for organizing pointers, write to Andrews at 68 Hampshire Street, Portland, ME 04101.

—Renata Rizzo

THE DEADLY CONNECTION

Nuclear War and U.S. Intervention

edited by
Joe Gerson



"...seminal... for a new wave in the peace movement which will follow on the freeze wave." —Randall Forsberg

"...a prime concern for those who want to avert nuclear war..."

—Noam Chomsky

Contributors include: Randall Forsberg, Daniel Ellsberg, Noam Chomsky, Charito Planas, Jack O'Dell, Phillip Berryman, Ngo Vinh Long.

(128 pp) \$3.00 plus 75¢ postage.

Write to: **AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE**
2161 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02140

NUCLEAR TIMES

SAVE WITH A GROUP SUBSCRIPTION

DISCOUNT BULK RATES

Yearly subscription prices for groups of three or more are as follows:

3-19 people: \$12 each
20-49 people: \$9 each
Over 50 people: \$8 each

Save also on prices for large quantities of a single issue; to distribute at your next Church Meeting, Book Fair, Peace March or Convention:

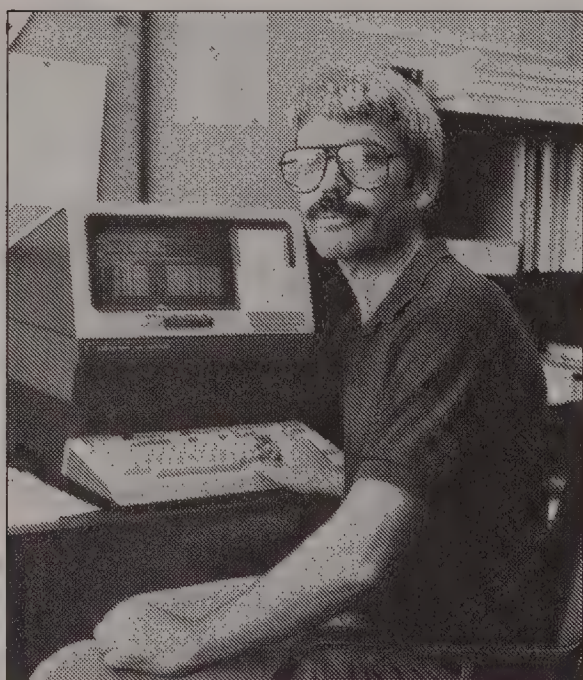
1-10: \$2/copy (regular price)
11-50: \$1/copy
51-100: .75/copy
Over 100: .50/copy

Send orders to Kippie Norris,
Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue,
New York, NY 10001

Farewell To Arms Work?

(continued from front cover)

"It became painfully obvious to me I was out of step," says Beebe. "When we won the competitive phase [of the contract] everyone else was two feet off the floor and I just felt like going and hiding somewhere. I was proud of the technical work, but I was not proud of the creation."



Al Beebe: Left while the going was good

Beebe's is not an isolated case of angst in the military-industrial complex, or in the high technology industry at large. Growing numbers are grappling with the conflict between their personal opposition to the arms race and their work which, directly or indirectly, keeps it going.

Organizations of technical workers against the arms buildup are attracting members from the large pool of those who are well-paid to conceive, design and build nuclear weapons and guidance technology. Contrary to what might be expected, dropping out of the military industry is not a prerequisite to joining these organizations. One member of Aerospace Engineers/Workers for Social Responsibility, an organization in Los Angeles, explains, "It's the best job I can get by far—it's extremely good money and the working conditions are very good. I need to pay my bills."

At High Technology Professionals for Peace, a national group based in Boston, Josie Stein says that she and other members reassure newcomers from the military industry that "almost all of us have

experience in working in defense or are in defense." In this field the Department of Defense (DOD) is pretty hard to avoid. As much as 25 percent of the nation's scientists and engineers in universities, corporations and military research laboratories are primarily involved in projects funded by the Pentagon.

THE "GIANT GRAPEVINE"

The Xerox Palo Alto Research Centers (PARC) is a concrete-and-smoked-glass complex set in the rolling hills of the Santa Clara Valley, not far from grazing farm animals and Stanford University, with which it shares many scientists. Three years ago a group of researchers at Xerox "PARC" began discussing nuclear war on their computer terminals. This was the beginning of Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility (CPSR), the only organization exclusively for computer scientists. CPSR was officially formed in June 1982 with about 100 members. Al Beebe, who has left Hughes, joined the group.

The chairman of the organization, Severo Ornstein, is a retired Xerox computer scientist. During his 30-year career in the industry he helped design one of the DOD's first modern cross-country computer networks, ARPANET, which links universities, industrial sites and government offices. Ornstein, a boyish 53-year-old with a quick wit, stresses the primacy of computer science in the current phase of the arms race. "Today newer and bigger bombs are not so much the essence as is guidance technology . . . all of the control aspects of communication," he says. "Computer technology is in fact part of the driving force of the arms race at the moment."

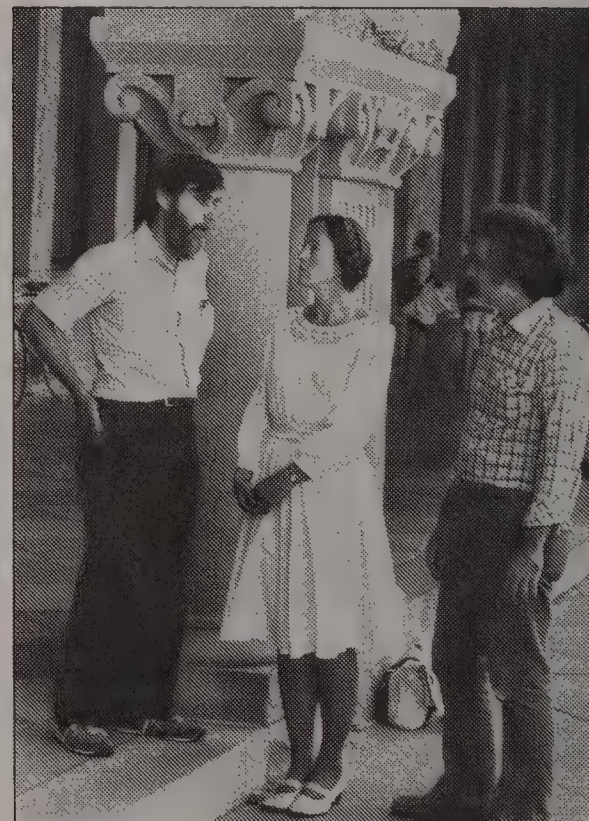
One of CPSR's major educational issues is the fallibility of computer-based systems, especially launch-on-warning systems. CPSR members spread their message through speaker bureaus, debates, talks, films, workshops, and occasional exposure in trade magazines and other media. They also set up booths at computer fairs and computer/electronics conferences and make use of what Ornstein calls the "giant grapevine" in the computer field.

The big issue for CPSR right now is artificial intelligence because of the DOD's Strategic Computing (SC) initiative—a proposal for \$600 million worth of

research and development in machine intelligence technology over the next five years. The program, made public last October, has been approved by Congress and proposals for it are being solicited. Since the SC initiative is well-funded and extensive, it would greatly affect the direction of computer research in the country over the next few years.

CPSR is using the SC initiative as a vehicle for challenging the domination of defense funding in computer research. It has prepared a nine-page critical study that, among other things, argues that SC is an inappropriate use of artificial intelligence.

Although understaffed and suffering the typical growing pains of a young organization, the group now has chapters in Palo Alto, Berkeley, San Jose, Santa Cruz, Los Angeles, Seattle, Boston, New York, Madison and Washington, D.C. Among its 450 international mem-



CPSR members Ornstein, Laura Gould and Winograd at Stanford University

bers it counts many academicians, including artificial intelligence pioneer Terry Winograd and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Joseph Weizenbaum, well-known within the field for his writing on the computer's impact on society.

As it was setting its course during the first year the organization lost a few

members when it decided to limit its agenda to nuclear war rather than tackling a broad range of social issues. This was in part because CPSR leaders are concerned with maintaining what Ornstein calls an "elitist" character so they can recruit serious scientists and establish credibility with the public.

"Within the computer profession you're dealing with relatively conservative people," says Terry Winograd, "many of whom may have genuine concerns about nuclear war, and could be enlisted, but who are going to be turned off by women's issues, gay rights, and other things."

One CPSR member, who did not wish to be named, faulted the organization for not soliciting members from technical professions directly engaged in military work. "Most of the impetus for CPSR has come from the academic community," he says. "They're getting support from traditional liberals. I don't think they've really touched the community of people who need to be touched—engineers working for the defense industry."

CONVERSION FROM WITHIN

At least one member of Aerospace Engineers/Workers for Social Responsibility (AE/WSR) does attempt outreach to the defense community. A small group in Los Angeles (where military contractors receive one out of every three federal military dollars), AE/WSR is composed of about 40 members who work or have worked for military contractors. It sponsors speakers on nuclear war at local colleges and works with groups that support military conversion. Although the group makes itself known largely through distributing material at peace events, John Honigsfeld, a 42-year-old software engineer, passes out literature on AE/WSR to his colleagues at Hughes Aircraft Company. Honigsfeld continues to do this, although he does not feel this approach gets him very far. "The people we are recruiting," he says, "come in because they are *looking* for a group like this."

At High Technology Professionals for Peace in Boston, member Josie Stein echoes this observation. "Rather than confront people," she says, "we let them come to us." High Technology runs a job counselling service and tries to find jobs for people who want to leave military work behind.

Stein reports hundreds of inquiries from people at all stages in their careers, from recent college graduates to executives in the defense industry. But despite an apparently high level of interest and the cooperation, at least on paper, of over 150 nonmilitary companies that might be potential employers, High Technology has placed only three people

MORE DEVASTATING THAN ANY FICTION —THE REAL DAY AFTER.

This is real. In the event of nuclear attack, the U.S. Government has *the Official Plan* for your survival!

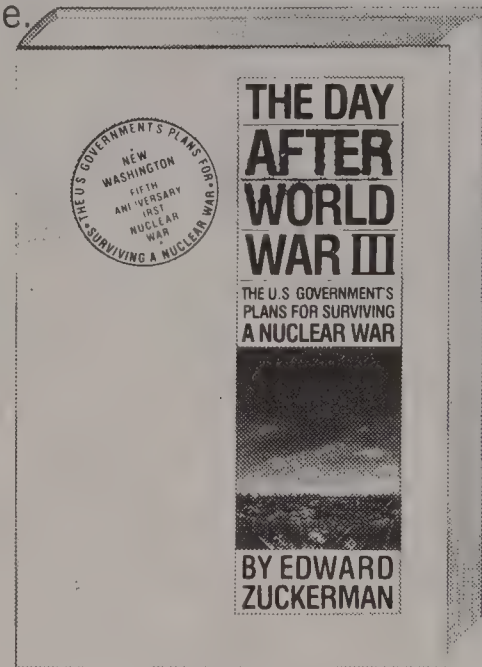
- ☐ The President of the United States will freeze wages, prices, and rents.
- ☐ The Postal Service will use Emergency Change of Address cards to help families locate displaced survivors.
- ☐ Federal tax collection *will* continue.
- ☐ The Federal Reserve Bank will clear checks "including those drawn on destroyed banks."

THE DAY AFTER WORLD WAR III—the most riveting, chilling, and stunning account of our federal government's nuclear survival strategy.

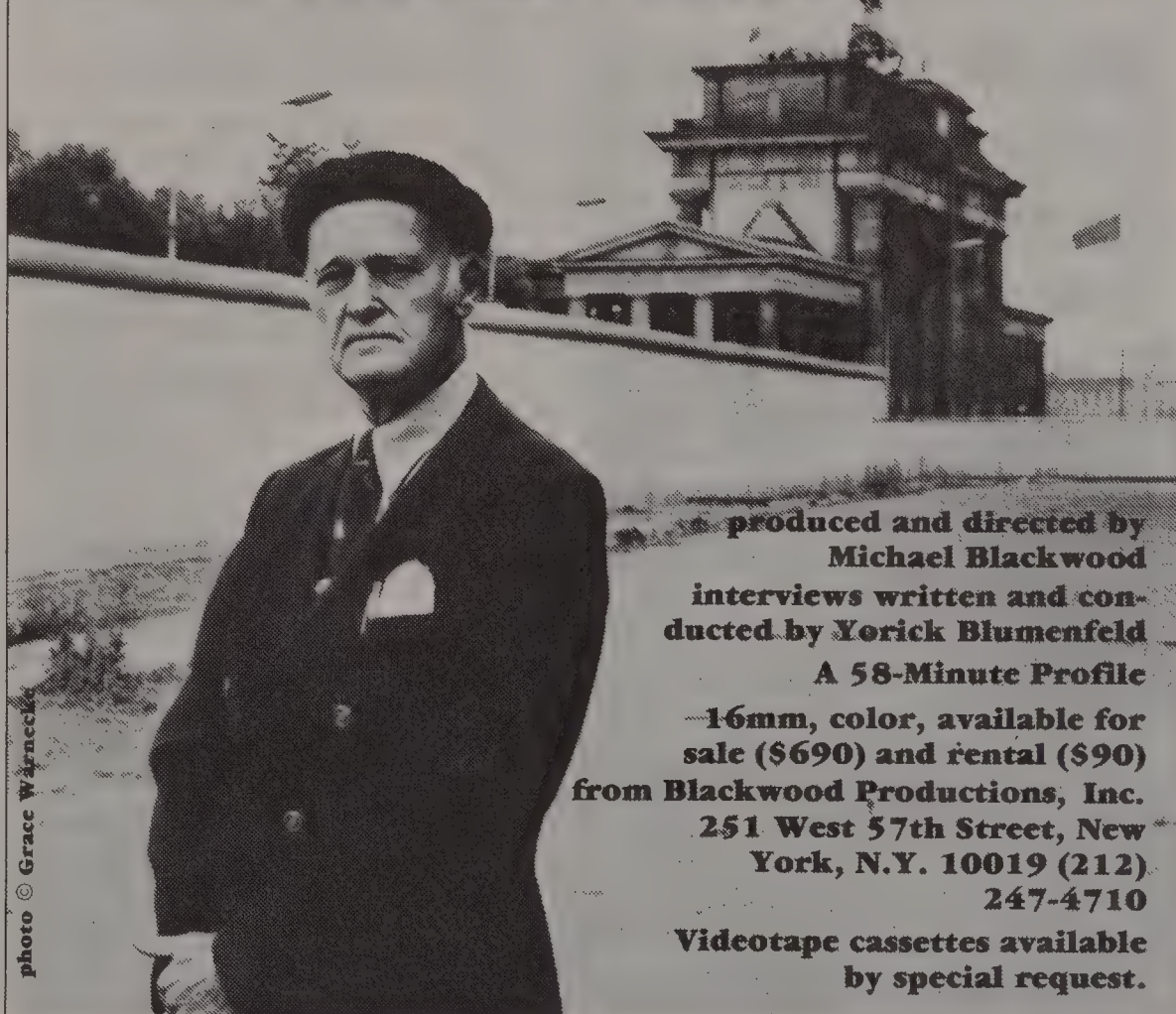
"Frequently hilarious in a macabre way, and full of solid instruction on the history of our current impasse."
—*The Atlantic*



VIKING



GEORGE KENNAN A Critical Voice



produced and directed by
Michael Blackwood
interviews written and conducted by **Yorick Blumenfeld**
A 58-Minute Profile

16mm, color, available for
sale (\$690) and rental (\$90)
from **Blackwood Productions, Inc.**
251 West 57th Street, New
York, N.Y. 10019 (212)
247-4710

Videotape cassettes available
by special request.

photo © Grace Wærnecke

in new jobs. (Other employment opportunities arise informally, through the group's network of contacts across the country.)

Because of the problems in finding new jobs for highly specialized applicants, High Technology has put increasing emphasis on its counselling program, where people join in group discussion about the problems of their work and raise possible alternatives—from "dropping out and becoming a woodworker," as one High Technology member puts it, to changing to a nonmilitary assignment within the same company.

The high degree of confidentiality about High Tech's service attests to the difficulties of organizing in this field. High Technology does not release its mailing list to anyone, even to members; in fact, they keep the 1500-name list outside the office. A member could easily be subjected to harassment at work, and the organization wants to avoid that, since many of its partisans still work for the military industry. But Stein cautions against "overdoing this confidentiality business. There are many people in academia who don't care [if they're known as members] and there are even people in industry who don't care."

How can people work on nuclear weapons and be a member of a group like this? Stein explains that for one thing, "unemployment is not easy." And because of over-specialization, that's what confronts someone who contemplates a

switch out of military work.

Since it first started its counselling service, the group has found ways to make the program more useful to its members, Stein believes. She attributes this in great part to the volunteer efforts of two women from Social Workers for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament, who helped train High Technology members in counselling. "People would come in and we'd ask them a lot of questions hoping to draw them out," Stein says, "but it would end up more like an interrogation." After being helped by the social workers for a year, Stein says, High Technology members are "catching on" to counselling.

But a major part of High Technology's work is preventive counselling. They have produced a booklet, "Are You Considering a Job in the Defense Industry?" which some student groups have passed out on campuses during recruitment season. The booklet points out the drawbacks of military work from a career perspective—over-specialization and little chance of recognition or mobility in other areas of the field because their work has been classified.

The Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project (MPCP) of Silicon Valley in California tries to create civilian jobs for workers through planning for military conversion. The 1000-member group, which is not restricted to high-technology professionals, is currently working with the United Auto Workers and McDonnell Douglas aerospace company on a plan to

have Douglas perform the final assembly of light rail and rapid transit vehicles. This would enable the company, which has suffered many cutbacks and layoffs recently, to put many of its employees back to work. "One of the beauties of conversion is it allows you to talk to defense workers in concrete terms about the arms race," said Joel Yudken, a former Lockheed engineer who is now MPCP's director of programs. "It's different from telling them 'You're bad, you're going to destroy the world' and all those vague murmurs they hear."

How much effect are such efforts going to have? In a letter Al Beebe wrote to an engineering professor in Japan who helped develop that country's Fifth Generation Computer Project (a government and industry-supported push for overall advances in computer science, particularly in areas that would have socially beneficial applications), he expressed qualified optimism. "As the instruments of a social policy which is dedicated to weapons development, I believe, technical workers can play a key role in working to change human institutions, attitudes and government policies," he wrote. "The only question is whether they will wake up to their responsibility and opportunity."

It appears that at least some of them are trying.

—Michelle Markel

Michelle Markel is a freelance writer in Los Angeles.

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES

Be a Nuker.



Play Nukery: The Button Pushing Board Game of "Limited" Nuclear War. In Nukery just about everybody loses, just about all the time.

The ideal gift for megalomaniacs, optimists and the ecologically retarded from 8-108. Send \$15.95 + \$2.00 for Postage & Handling.

Walters Game Co.
P.O. Box 3000-348 Camarillo, CA 93011
CA residents add 6% sales tax.

Please rush me Nukery before some other crazy Nuker pushes the button for real!

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

PEACE PEN PALS

If your group would like a **twin peace group** in England write to *Genia Goelz, Full Circle, Chagford, Devon, England, TQ13 8AA.*

ASSOCIATIONS

Bertrand Russell Society. Information: *NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.*

GOOD READING

Activists, Lawyers, Economists: Learn how the Consumer Price Index is distorted to understate inflation and keep cost-of-living adjustments down. For FREE information send large self-addressed, stamped envelope to: *Mereski, Box 15268 NT, Savannah, GA 31416.* Offer good through Election Day, November 6, 1984. Why isn't your union/group pushing this?

Conflict Management: A Curriculum for Peace

offers teaching plans (K-12) for 13 lessons in conflict management and 4 in global education. To order send \$10, check or money order to: **CORNERSTONE, 940 Emerson, Denver, CO 80218 (303) 831-7692.**

GOOD READING

The Arms Race and the Paper Chase.

Too much to read . . . too little time.

There is a solution: the new Subscription Service of the Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race. Subscribers receive bi-monthly packets: "must-read" articles, action ideas, the latest word on new resources; all collated in a three-ring binder for easy use.

**Interfaith Center to
Reverse the Arms Race,
132 N. Euclid Ave.,
Pasadena, CA 91101
(213) 449-9430.**

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD

ARTS

"Fate of the Earth" poster

A beautiful 4-color 20" x 30" glossy poster depicting the evolution of the Nuclear Mentality through the history of technology. Immaculate Heart Center, 10951 W. Pico Blvd., LA, CA 90064. \$7 postpaid.

ENCAMPMENT



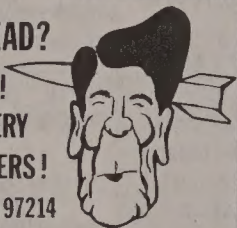
442 Seminole Ave. no.8
Atlanta, Ga 30307 404 523-5669

PASS THE WORD

WORRIED ABOUT WARHEAD?

HELP THE CAUSE FOR PEACE!
DISTRIBUTE CHARISMATIC, VERY
EASY-TO-SELL BUMPERSTICKERS!

O.Tracy, P.O. Box 14265 Portland, OR 97214



RON SOPHOBIC? Send anti-RayGun mis-
sives via cartoon envelopes. Four designs, 5
each, \$9.95. Quantity prices available. Frank-
lin, Box 383, Murrayhill, NYC, NY 10156.

I REAGAN

RED, WHITE & BLUE BUMPER STICKERS
LOWE CO. \$2. each

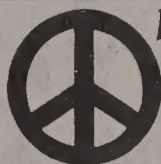
P.O. Box 42812 \$7 for 4
LOS ANGELES, CA 90042
California residents add 6 1/2 % sales tax

BUTTONS, BUMPERSTICKERS:

Your message custom printed, also
wide selection in-stock. Wholesale—
excellent fundraisers. Free catalog
(specify in-stock or custom printing).

DONNELLY/COLT, Box 271-NT, New
Vernon, NJ 07976 (201) 538-6676 or
538-6699.

PASS THE WORD



back by
popular
demand

Freedom Family Press/n-5
P.O. Box 1527
Eugene, Or. 97440

T-shirts: \$7.50 p.p.d.
(sm, m, l, xl;
all cotton; in
white or blue)
Bumperstickers &
Buttons: \$1.00
bulk discounts available

also peace dove t-shirts
white & green on blue

RONALD REAGAN IS WATCHING YOU

(on Reverse Side of T-Shirt)

Dealer
Inquiries
Welcome

WAR IS PEACE
FREEDOM IS SLAVERY
IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH
Vote Republican
1984

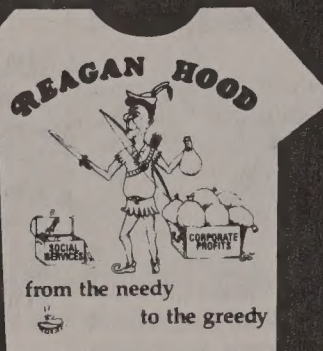
T-SHIRTS
Beautiful
100% Cotton
Red on Black

Silkscreened 2 Sides
(S, M, L, XL) \$9.95
Post Paid. Send
Check or m/o.
Newspeak Designs
70 Greenwich Av.
Suite 410W NYC 10011

Reagan Hood T-Shirt

5 color design on
white t-shirt of
100% cotton.
U.S. made.
All adult sizes
available:
s, m, lg, xl.

\$7.95 each,
postage & handling
included. Wholesale
inquiries welcome
Banners, Flags,
Sweatshirts,
T-Shirts



Please send check or money order to:
Libre Silk Screen Printing Inc.
82 Wall St., Suite 1105, New York, NY 10005
(212) 509-2611

WEAR THE INTERNATIONAL MESSAGE

核凍結

NUCLEAR FREEZE

Quality all cotton T-shirt with Japanese
(Kaku-Tō-Ketsu) meaning "Nuclear Freeze."

\$12 includes postage and handling.
S, M, L, XL; Black-on-Red or Black-on-White

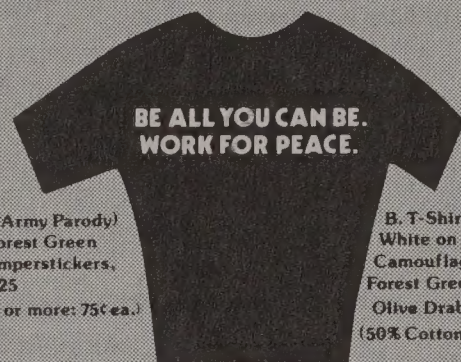
\$1 per shirt will be donated to the
Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

sweet potatoes

BOX 309, DEPT. NT
BODEGA, CA 94922

PASS THE WORD

WANTED: VEHICLES FOR EXPRESSION (You And/Or Your Car Will Do Nicely!)



A. (Army Parody)
Forest Green
Bumperstickers,
\$1.25
(10 or more: 75¢ ea.)

B. T-Shirts:
White on Army
Camouflage, \$8.
Forest Green or
Olive Drab, \$7
(50% Cotton/Poly)

FREE CATALOG, AND LOTS MORE!

JOSE KANUSEE

Box 11444 Milwaukee, WI 53211

ITEM	QTY	COST	COLOR/SIZE (S-XL)

*ALL PRICES INCLUDE SHIPPING

*Wisconsin Residents, Add 5%

Name _____

Address _____

Custom-printed

• BUTTONS • DECALS • BUMPERSTICKERS

and many other items!

SINCE 1961 WE HAVE OFFERED
LOW WHOLESALE PRICES TO
PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

For **FREE** Catalog and
Listing of over 150 in-stock
items (nearly 1000
organizations use our items
to raise funds!)

Write or Call:

LARRY FOX

BOX M-18

VALLEY STREAM, NY 11582

(516) 791-7929

Get The Word Out

RATES

Per Word: 80¢ a word/15 word minimum (PO Boxes count as two words,
phone numbers and abbreviations count as one word).

Per Inch: \$17 per column inch (1" deep x 2 1/4" wide), 4" maximum. Camera
Ready Copy Only!!

FREQUENCY DISCOUNT

2-4 insertions: 70¢ per word, \$16 per column inch

5-8 insertions: 65¢ per word, \$15 per column inch

9-10 insertions: 60¢ per word, \$14 per column inch

Mail to: Community Bulletin Board, Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, Room 512, New York, NY 10001.

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING PEACE & JUSTICE SUMMER

From **June 20 to August 31**, a nonpartisan voter education project, enlisting student volunteers, will take place in **Atlanta, Austin, Boston, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Philadelphia and San Francisco**. Students' educational outreach will focus on the links between the nuclear arms race and military intervention, and the effects of militarism on the economy and social justice. For more information, *contact*: Peace & Justice Summer National Clearinghouse, 2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 864-6124.

TELEVISION

Pursuit of Happiness, a documentary focusing on antinuclear activist and Plowshares 8 defendant Molly Rush, will be broadcast nationally on PBS stations on Saturday, **June 30**. Check local listings for exact time and date. For more information, *contact*: Global Village, 454 Broome St, New York, NY 10013 (212) 966-7526.

Eight Minutes to Midnight: A Portrait of Dr. Helen Caldicott will be broadcast nationally on PBS stations on Friday, **July 13**. Check local listings for exact time and date.

JUNE 20

WASHINGTON

• **Poulsbo** "An Overview of Resistance Efforts Across the Country," presentation and discussion with Felice and Jack Cohen-Joppa, editors of *The Nuclear Resister*. *Contact*: The Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Rd NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370 (206) 692-7053.

JUNE 22

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** Conference, "Economic Conversion: Transforming the Economy for Jobs, Peace and Justice," with Dave McFadden, Gordon Adams, and other speakers from here and abroad; Boston College, **through June 24**. *Contact*: International Economic Conversion Conference, 2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 661-7108.

JUNE 23

NEW YORK

• **New York** CANDU's (Chelsea Against Nuclear Destruction United) 3rd Annual Nuclear Disarmament Street Fair and Music Festival, with City Councilperson Miriam Friedlander, congressional Reps Ted Weiss and Bill Green, candidate Betty Lall and others, and featuring international music, food, arts and crafts, antinuclear film festival and more; West 16 St between 5th and 6th Aves. *Contact*: CANDU, PO Box 332, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10113 (212) 675-5325.

JUNE 24

NORTH CAROLINA

• **Asheville** Dance for the Western Carolina Coalition for Social Concerns. *Contact*: Margaret Farmer, Advocates for Nuclear Arms Freeze (704) 258-6617.

JUNE 30

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Conway** "Election '84/Grassroots Par-

Calendar

**A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast.
Please submit events as soon as they are scheduled.
September events due by July 30.**

ticipation and 1st Annual Film Festival," with Mel King, Bernie Sanders, John Demeter and others, and featuring workshops, discussions, films, and more, **through July 5**. Starting **July 6**, "Making Connections in the Peace Movement," with Russell Johnson, Kurt Ehrenburg, Ernest Drucker and others, and featuring workshops, **through July 12**. *Contact*: The World Fellowship Center, Conway, NH 03818 (603) 356-5208.

JULY 1

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Exhibit, Women Speak Out on the Nuclear Issue; Vida Gallery, **through July 14**. *Contact*: Vida Gallery, San Francisco Women's Building, 3543 18 St, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415) 864-8432.

NEW YORK

• **Stony Point** Global Village 1984 will examine contemporary Korea and peacemaking, with forums, workshops and more; Stony Point Center, **through July 6**. *Contact*: Stony Point Center, Crickettown Rd, Stony Point, NY 10980 (914) 786-5674.

SOUTH CAROLINA

• **Aiken** Opening of the Savannah River Peace Encampment near the Savan-

nah River plutonium plant. *Contact*: The Athens Progressive Resource Center, 185 W Washington St, Athens, GA 30601 (404) 353-1218.

JULY 4

OREGON

• **Portland** Interdependence Day Celebration, with picnic, music, entertainment, and speakers for peace and disarmament. *Contact*: The Portland Freeze Coalition, PO Box 8124, Portland, OR 97207.

JULY 8

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Portsmouth** International Workcamp for Peace; participants will share knowledge of grass-roots peace work around the world and work on community projects, **through July 29**. *Contact*: Dr. Karen Edwards (603) 862-2146 or Judy Cohen (603) 332-0665.

JULY 9

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

1984 Summer Institute, "Alternatives: Vision, Strategy, Spirituality," featuring workshops on the economy, peace and the church, **through July 20**. *Contact*: The Center of Concern, 3700 13 St

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION ACTIVITIES

Events centered around the Democratic National Convention include:

THE PEOPLE'S CONVENTION (JULY 13-16).

A coalition of grass-roots organizations will develop a multi-issue platform for progressive change to take to the convention; activities will also include workshops, panel discussions, and cultural events, culminating in a march to the Moscone Center. *Contact*: The People's Convention, 3270 E 14 St, Oakland, CA 94691 (415) 536-2200.

A VISION OF AMERICA AT PEACE (JULY 14-19).

This event, located five blocks from the convention site, will feature an exhibition of images of a peaceful future by artists around the country; booths and representatives from dozens of local and national peace and environmental groups will also be on hand. *Contact*: Ground Zero California, PO Box 9820, Berkeley, CA 94709 (415) 486-0233.

THE COUNTER CONVENTION (JULY 14).

Sponsored by the Abalone Alliance and the War Resisters League/West, this event will feature music and comedy. *Contact*: WRL/West, 85 Carl St, San Francisco, CA 94117 (415) 731-1220.

INTERFAITH WITNESS (JULY 15).

As part of a nationwide witness on the eve of the convention, a coalition of religious groups will hold an interfaith vigil at San Francisco's Grace Cathedral to express concern about the arms race, U.S. budget priorities, and intervention. Speakers will include the Reverend William Sloane Coffin, Bishop Francis Quinn, and Rabbi David Saperstein. *Contact*: The Northern California Ecumenical Council, 942 Market St, Rm 702, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 434-0670.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Peace and Environmental Convention Coalition (PECC) is organizing a peace and justice platform for the convention. *Contact*: PECC, 942 Market St, Rm 307, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 543-8099.

OPENING NIGHT DEMONSTRATION (JULY 16).

Vote Peace in '84 Council is sponsoring a major demonstration on the first night of the convention near the Moscone Center. *Contact*: The Council, 3004 16 St, Rm 205, San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 552-5915.

For more information about these and other events, contact: The Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market St, Rm 708, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 495-0526.

NE, Washington, DC 20017 (202) 635-2757.

JULY 14

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** National Conference on Registration and the Draft, with speakers, workshops, and more; University of California at Berkeley campus. *Contact*: National Conference, 1251 Second Av, San Francisco, CA 94122 (415) 566-0500.

NEW YORK

• **Romulus** "Organizing for Peace: Community Strategies and American Political Issues," marks the official opening of the summer program at the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice, **through July 15**. Workshops on nonviolence theory and civil disobedience preparation, consensus and facilitation training, and cruise and Pershing 2 missiles will be offered every Monday and Friday throughout the summer. *Contact*: Women's Encampment, 5440 Rte 96, Romulus, NY 14541 (607) 869-5825.

JULY 16

NEW YORK

• **New York** Third annual International Institute on Peace Education, with films, visits to peace organizations, briefings at the United Nations and more; Teachers College, **through July 27**. *Contact*: United Ministries in Education, Box 171, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027 (212) 678-3972.

JULY 18

CALIFORNIA

• **Santa Clara** 1984 National Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), with workshops, children's program, music and folk dancing, variety show, auction and religious services, and featuring Dr. Joseph Lowery, Randall Forsberg and others; University of Santa Clara. *Contact*: FOR, 2718 Forbes Av, Santa Clara, CA 95051 (408) 244-5796.

JULY 21

MONTANA

• **Glacier Park** "Hands Across the Border," International gathering at the Glacier/Waterton International Peace Park, with peace camp, speakers, music and more, **through July 22**. *Contact*: Bill Stewart, Glacier Peace Alliance, PO Box 167, East Glacier, MT 59434 (406) 226-4412.

NEW JERSEY

• **Andover** Training Program for Organizers, with workshops, films, field work and more; limited enrollment; Hudson Guild Farm, **through July 30**. *Contact*: The War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450.

JULY 22

REGIONAL

• Peace pilgrimage to the Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas, the final assembly point for nuclear warheads, **through August 6**. *Contact*: The Red River Network, 1022 W 6 St, Austin, TX 78703 (512) 474-2399.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo

Thanks to everyone who mailed in events

Resources

NEW BOOKS

Green Politics: The Global Promise, by Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak (E.P. Dutton hardcover, \$11.95). The first in-depth account for U.S. readers of the Green party, the "anti-party party" in Europe that adheres to ecological principles, nonviolence, and grass-roots organizing. The authors speculate about how a Green political movement could grow in the United States.

The Day After World War III, by Edward Zuckerman (Viking hardcover, \$16.95). With sly humor Zuckerman brings to life the national plan for surviving nuclear attack, including population relocation and shelter, mail delivery, check cashing, and yes, even tax collection. This surreal account is a "must read."

GUIDES

1983 Voting Record: Senate and House Nuclear Arms Race Indices. At a glance, here's how the House and Senate and their members voted on key weapons issues. (Free to NUCLEAR TIMES readers with a stamped, self-addressed envelope—bulk orders will be billed for postage and handling—from Council for a Livable World, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02108.)

Guide to the Military Budget: Fiscal Year 1985. Eight pages about what's in the new budget, why it's so huge, how it could be reduced. (25¢ each, \$15/100, \$60/500 from SANE, 711 G Street S.E., Washington, DC 20003, 202-546-7100.)

The Military Budget: A Woman's Guide to Community Action, by the Defense Budget Project of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities with the American Association of University Women. This clear and well-documented guide is very helpful for anyone who wants to understand how and why the budget is created and what can be done to change it. (\$5.25 plus postage and handling from AAUW, 2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20037, 202-785-7772.)

INFORMATION EXCHANGE

The Euromissile Clearinghouse, a new information exchange, gathers and distributes reports on both Euromissiles themselves and opposition to their deployment from member organizations here and in Europe. Call for information or to report your group's activities. (PO Box 43243, Washington, DC 20010, 202-332-4321.)

FILMS

Strategic Trust: The Making of Nuclear Free Palau, directed by James Heddle, pro-

duced by Debra Dralle. This excellent documentary reveals the Reagan administration's efforts to undermine the Palau constitution (see *Notes From Abroad*, p. 9). (58 minutes, color videotape. For rental information contact Naczinski and Associates, 1310 North Cahuenga, Los Angeles, CA 90028, 213-467-2201.)

Button, Button: A Dream of Nuclear War, directed by Frank Cantor, produced by Juan Mandelbaum. A beautiful, moving film translation of a community play, mostly in mime, created by 150 residents of Strafford, Vermont, to depict the outbreak and aftermath of nuclear war. The action—peaceful rural life disrupted by political leaders who press two huge papier mâché buttons—unfolds accompanied by folk hymns, Fats Waller,



A community acts out in "Button, Button"

Tommy Dorsey, and a baby's sobs. The Reverend William Sloane Coffin, a former Strafford resident, makes a cameo appearance as a warmongering politician. Impressively acted and produced; one of the most artistic films available on the nuclear theme. (14 minutes, color videotape, \$35 rental from Green Mountain Post Films, PO Box 229, Turners Falls, MA 01376, 413-863-4754.)

George Kennan: A Critical Voice, produced and directed by Michael Blackwood, interviews by Yorick Blumenfeld (shown

on PBS over the last year and now available for distribution). The director and interviewer wisely do not intrude, permitting Kennan to dominate this fascinating portrait of the former ambassador to the Soviet Union and Pulitzer Prize-winning historian. Kennan asserts that "we're behind the times in our view of the U.S.S.R.; people don't seem to know that Stalin is dead." (58 minutes, color videotape or 16 mm film, \$90 rental from Michael Blackwood Productions, Inc., 251 West 57 Street, New York, NY 10019, 212-247-4710.)

NEWSLETTERS

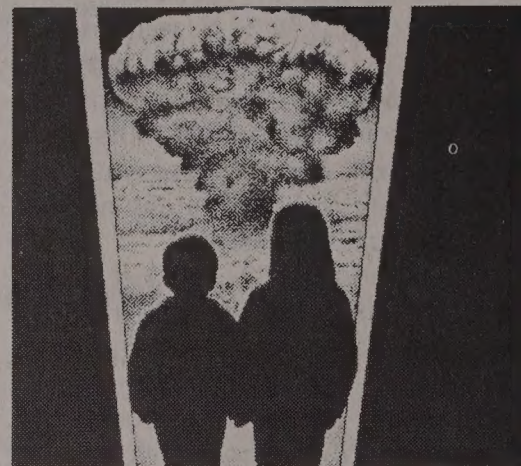
Newsletter: 1984 War Tax Resistance Issue, published by feminist pacifists in Seattle, where the Catholic archbishop is a tax resister. *Newsletter's* special issue is crammed with diverting tales of dealings with the Internal Revenue Service, forms of tax resistance you may not have considered (filing for a refund, paying under protest, not paying the federal excise tax on your phone bill), news about changes in IRS regulations, and resources, including tax counselors' phone numbers. (60¢ from *Newsletter*, 331-17th Avenue East, Seattle, WA 98112.)

Peace and Democracy News, a new bulletin published three times a year by the Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West, a coalition of peace, environmental, feminist and minority activists and trade unionists dedicated to overcoming the Cold War perspective and offering a "third alternative" to the two superpower-led blocs. This premier issue (Spring 1984) roves across the international political peace scene—from Turkey to the Philippines—and includes a report on independent peace groups in Eastern Europe. (\$5 a year for individuals, \$10 for institutions from CPD/EW, 301 West 105 Street, #2R, New York, NY 10025, 212-222-9703.)

SPECIAL MENTION

The Abolition, by Jonathan Schell (Knopf hardcover, \$11.95), **Preventing War in the Nuclear Age**, by Dietrich Fischer (Rowman & Allanheld, \$9.95 paper). Both authors, like Freeman Dyson in *Weapons and Hope* (see *Resources*, April '84), try to rethink deterrence—it's all we've got, so let's work with it—without falling in step with the Harvard Study Group's position that learning to "live with" nuclear weapons is our only hope. Schell replies to both the Harvard group's *Living With Nuclear Weapons* and to criticism of his 1982 book, *The Fate of the Earth*, which called for world government as the only way to disarm. What we really need, he now acknowledges, is "a way of abolishing nuclear weapons that does not require us to found a world government, which the world shows virtually no interest in founding." Rather than bilateral or unilateral disarmament, we need "the abolition of nuclear arms within the framework of deterrence . . . although uninvention [of nuclear weapons] is impossible, abolition is not." Schell envisions "an agreement freezing the world's boundaries in place and abolishing nuclear weapons while keeping deterrence in force by retaining the ability to rebuild them." How this agreement is going to be reached remains fuzzy. Fischer, an economics professor at New York University, steps into the breach, proposing a first move—restructuring nuclear forces so that they cannot carry out a first strike; if it *can't* happen, it *won't* happen. Fischer suggests that one side can adopt his plan without securing a reciprocal agreement from the other side, and without risking its own security.

Environmental & Social Issues Films & Video



Direct Cinema Exclusive Films & Video*

Being with John F. Kennedy

This new intimate view presents a behind the scenes look at JFK, the man and his times. The film documents the history-making Kennedy style from young senator to candidate battling religious prejudice, through the glories of the New Frontier, to burdened President in crisis, to the tragedy in Dallas. You'll get closer to the Oval office than you've ever been.

100 minutes Color & BW 1983
Video Only
BETA & VHS \$79.95/¾"-\$495

Hazardous Waste

The Search for Solutions

Hal Holbrook narrates this probing documentary about concerned citizens successfully organizing at the local level to clean up some of the 17,000 toxic chemical dumps which have littered the countryside. Specific ideas are presented from the different perspectives of government, industry, and community. The film cuts across all boundaries, making it useful for everyone.

35 minutes Color 1984
\$545/55 Video \$250

If You Love This Planet

**Academy Award 1982
Best Documentary Short**



In a campus talk, Dr. Helen Caldicott, noted author and pediatrician, clearly emphasizes the perils of nuclear war and reveals a frightening progression of events which would follow a nuclear attack.

National Film Board of Canada
26 minutes Color 1982
\$495/45

The Life & Times of Rosie the Riveter

In this valuable history of working women, five former "Rosies," movingly recall their experiences during World War II when women gained entry into major industrial plants for the first time. Their testimony is interwoven with rare archival recruiting films, posters and music of the period.

"The best film on working women I have seen." Molly Haskell, *MS Magazine*.

65 minutes Color 1980
\$850/85 Video \$595

Wild Goose Jack

This inspiring biographical film focuses on famed ornithologist and naturalist Jack Miner, known as "The Father of Conservation." With actual footage of Jack dating from 1915, the film recounts the remarkable career of this visionary man and the events which shaped his life and philosophy.

"... a finely tuned look at a pioneer conservationist ..." Jim Bawden, *Toronto Star*

57 minutes Color 1983
\$895/100 Video \$250

SL-1

The Story of America's First Fatal Nuclear Accident

SL-1 uses recently declassified government film footage to recreate the true story of America's first nuclear accident which took place over 20 years ago. Previously repressed government evidence indicates that perhaps the disaster was caused by the suicidal impulse of an individual technician.

"A powerful and poignant blend of journalism, SL-1 is compelling viewing." *Variety*

60 minutes Color & BW 1984
\$800/100

Eight Minutes to Midnight

A Portrait of Dr. Helen Caldicott
Academy Award Nomination 1981

60 minutes Color 1981
\$800/100 Video \$150

The Freeze

An Overview of the Arms Race

25 minutes Color 1983
\$250/45 Video \$100

No Place to Hide

Growing Up in the Shadow of the Bomb

Narrated by Martin Sheen
29 minutes Color & BW 1982
\$495/45 Video \$150

Vietnam Requiem

**Five Vietnam Veterans' Personal Stories
Emmy Award**

58 Minutes Color 1983
\$895/100 Video \$250

Direct Cinema/Home Video**



Atomic Cafe

Archives Project 1982
BETA and VHS \$54.95

Dr. Strangelove or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb

Columbia Pictures 1964
BETA and VHS \$49.95

Wasn't That a Time-The Weavers

UA Classics/Films Inc. 1982
BETA and VHS \$49.95

*These films and video tapes are exclusively available from Direct Cinema Limited for rental, purchase, or preview. The prices listed are for Purchase/Rental in 16mm. Video tapes are not available for preview or rental.

**Direct Cinema Home Video cassettes are available for purchase only in 1/2" VHS and BETA formats. Preview and rental copies are not available.

For additional information and our free catalogue contact:

Direct Cinema Limited
Post Office Box 69589
Los Angeles, CA 90069
(213) 656-4700



© 1984 DCL